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Talks With UK Held in 'Positive Atmosphere'

AU0611194290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Talks were held between representatives of the Albanian Government and representatives of the British Government on 5 and 6 November in Rome. The talks, which took place in a positive atmosphere, considered bilateral problems, including the issue of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Alia Sends Message To Soviet President Gorbachev

AU0611194190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR.

On the occasion of the great festival of the Soviet people, the anniversary of the October Revolution, in the name of the Albanian people and on my own behalf I send greetings and best wishes for progress and prosperity to you and the Soviet people. I express the wish that the relations of cooperation between our countries will develop (?in the interests of our peoples) and of peace and security in Europe.

Swiss Delegation Continues Visit

Received by Carcani

AU0611131490 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 5 (ATA)—Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, received the Swiss delegation headed by the secretary of state in the Foreign Department, Klaus Jacobi, today.

During the reception, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his satisfaction over his meeting with him and emphasized that this visit will serve the strengthening of friendship between the two peoples, the further promotion and materialisation of cooperation between Albania and Switzerland.

Albania and Switzerland are two small countries having many characteristics in common. It is the desire to live free and independent that has joined our two peoples together both in the past and at present. They are linked in a sincere friendship and cherish sentiments of respect towards one another. The relations between the two countries in the political, economic and cultural fields have developed and strengthened on this basis.

Speaking on the possibilities existing for the materialisation of this cooperation, he pointed out that recently conditions have been created so that both our governments be even more committed in giving a further impulse to cooperation in mutually beneficial domains, economic, industrial and technical one included.

Comrade Adil Carcani briefed him also on Albania's foreign policy and emphasized that she pursues an independent policy of peace and cooperation, and that she stands for the promotion of relations with all states.

Our country, he underscored, is for peace in the Balkans and makes efforts for the consolidation of the process of Balkan understanding and cooperation, as integral part of the European positive processes. The foreign ministers' meeting held in Tirana last month was an indication of the willingness of the Balkan peoples to continue this process: to consolidate peace and cooperation in this region, as an important factor for stability in Europe, too.

Then, he acquainted the Swiss friend with the endeavours of the Albanian Government to increase its cooperation in the European positive processes.

Albania has embarked on the road of the deepening of the country's democratisation, which represents an irreversible and broad process of transformations, that has swept the whole economic, political and social sectors within the country and the relations with the foreign world. This policy, he said in conclusion, is a requirement of development and responds to its needs. On his part, the secretary of state of the Foreign Department of the Swiss Confederation, Klaus Jacobi, thanked for the warm hospitality he witnessed wherever he went during his visit to Albania, which he deemed useful and efficient.

After assessing the measures that have been adopted and applied in Albania with regard to the further democratisation of the country's life, he voiced his support for them and Albania's ever broader participation in the European processes. Likewise, Klaus Jacobi pointed to the greater possibilities existing regarding the expansion of mutual beneficial cooperation between our two countries in industry and especially in infrastructure.

Attending the reception were also the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka, and the charge d'affaires a.i. [ad interim] of the PSR of Albania by the UN Bureau in Geneva, Alfred Papuciu and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Swiss Confederation in Albania, Jean-Jacques Indermuehle.

Departs Tirana 5 Nov

AU0611131890 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 5 (ATA)—Klaus Jacobi, secretary of state of the Foreign Department of the Swiss Confederation, who paid an official and friendly visit to Albania, left our country today.

He was seen off at the airport by the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka and functionaries of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Upon his stay in Tirana, the secretary of state of Switzerland's Foreign Department, Klaus Jacobi, was received by the minister under the presidency of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Cooperation, Farudin Hoxha. During the reception, they talked on the materialisation of the mutually beneficial economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Justice Minister Airs Views on New Legislation

AU0211112390 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by Justice Minister Enver Halili: "Refining Legislation—Support for the Processes of Democratizing the Country's Life"]

[Text] A series of new legal changes has recently been carried out and deepened. They will be further enriched in the future in the course of transformations of a democratic character, and in implementation of the historic decisions of the party Central Committee plenums and Comrade Ramiz Alia's policy speeches, with the support of the working masses. It is certain that the further democratization of legislation constitutes an important event in the country's life.

With these legislative changes, Albanian society and the state further deepen their legitimate, progressive, democratic, and popular character. They worthily present themselves before the world community and the democratic developments achieved in international life, acting on the demands of and in the spirit of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, other legal acts of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act, other CSCE documents, etc.

In the process of the further and irreversible democratization of social relations in all fields of life, the democratization of our socialist legislation certainly represents a special and important aspect. This has been dictated by the role and tasks of justice in the country's economic, social, and political life, the need for legislation and its enforcement in life to properly reflect the demands of the times, to properly pursue society's line of development, and even more, to play their active part in accelerating the pace of progress. The further democratization and refinement of legislation naturally demands reorganization and adjustments in the system of the state organs and the state apparatus as a whole, refinements in the relations among them and with social organisms, a qualitative increase in their working targets, and a further deepening of the democratic character of their activity.

The approval of a series of important laws and decrees—such as those concerning certain changes in the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, the law on the creation of a Ministry of Justice, the Bench of Advocates, the new decrees on passports and visas for foreign travel, the decree on the gathering, assembly, and demonstration of citizens in public places, the decrees which regulate economic relations and cooperation with foreign states, enterprises, and firms, and with persons physically abroad or Albanians living abroad, and which protect their interests in Albania—are an expression of these demands, dictated by our present stage of development. At its next session, the People's Assembly will also approve a new draft law on elections, which was recently published in the press. All these changes in legislation aim to improve the protection of our citizens' democratic rights and freedoms, to better protect the country's freedom, independence, and socialist future, and to further strengthen our socialist legal order.

The creation of the Ministry of Justice constitutes one of the most important changes in the system of the state organs, marking its further refinement by creating a more just rapport between the state's executive and judicial bodies. It will be an effective aid in raising to a new qualitative standard the state's law-making, dispensation of justice, crime prevention, and work for the training of jurists in all state and economic bodies and social institutions and organizations, as well as in the legal education of cadres and all working people.

The creation of the Ministry of Justice and the definition, by law, of its main tasks and functions create the necessary conditions for an effective reassessment and improvement of work on drafting, popularizing, interpreting, and rigorously enforcing the laws. One of the most important achievements of the new reorganization of the state apparatus is the concentration within the Ministry of Justice of the state's important activity of reviewing, drafting, and refining legislation, put on a healthier organizational, scientific, and methodological footing.

The law defines the Ministry of Justice as a central organ specializing in this field. It is entrusted it with the task of preparing the drafting of codes, laws, and auxiliary legal acts which concern the work of the organs of justice; furthermore, to consider and express its view of the legitimacy of drafts and codes, laws, and other auxiliary legal acts prepared by the ministries and other state bodies before these acts pass for consideration to the Council of Ministries and the lawmaking authorities of the state, the People's Assembly and its Presidium. In fulfilling the aforementioned duty, the Ministry of Justice has begun work to devise and draft a new penal code, which will be submitted to the People's Assembly for discussion and approval in the first six months of next year. The times call for a thorough review of all legislation; therefore, work has begun on reviewing the Code of Criminal Procedure, the law which regulates the organization of the courts. All these are concrete tasks which we will accomplish before the end of 1991.

Every measure has been taken to guarantee a smooth start to the work of the new institution of the Bench of Advocates.

In performing the task of checking the legality of the drafts prepared by other state bodies, the Ministry of Justice has, since its very creation, been coping with a considerable body of work, and is rendering valuable assistance, playing the role of a skilled arguer, not permitting defective drafts to proceed to the Council of Ministers. Of course, the resources of the Ministry of Justice will multiply in the future, and it will increase its demands and insistence in this field; however, the ministries and other central institutions must have a better conception of the duties which belong to them. It is their task to first prepare drafts based on a deep study of the social relations in the area for which they are responsible, and which they should know better than anyone else. Moreover, drafts must be submitted with full and accurate content, and with subtle legal knowledge. In this context, we draw attention to the fact that some drafts with serious defects have recently been submitted to the Ministry of Justice for consideration and assessment, and these have been sent back for total revision; this testifies to either incompetence or lack of seriousness.

The Ministry of Justice and the other state organs entrusted with the duty of reviewing and producing drafts of laws and auxiliary legal acts must be more aware of the great responsibilities they carry, and must become a powerful support for the process of further deepening the democratization of the country's entire life. Every democratic achievement and adjustment not only demands changes in everybody's work styles and methods and in people's mentality, but also demands greater commitment and more effective work in refining legal relationships at all levels of the state apparatus, in the operation of the economy, and the most important aspects of the life of society.

At all stages of our country's development, the dispensation of justice and the court system have been conceived and built and have operated according to a contemporary conception of their total independence from the organs of the state administration. This has guaranteed the dispensation of justice in accordance with the demands of the law; it has guaranteed the protection of the legal order and the legitimate rights and interests of citizens and other parties, avoiding the unjust influence of the administration. Nevertheless, time has shown that entrusting the Supreme Court with the direction and supervision of the court administration and the other sectors supporting the judiciary has created difficulties in the performance of its main tasks and functions, which are supervising the work of lower-level courts and coordinating court practices.

The creation of the Ministry of Justice has meant a structural adjustment of a principled nature, which separates the direction, organization, and supervision of the court administration from court work proper and help with the law. It creates greater opportunities for the more effective direction and control of such sectors as the office responsible for the execution of the decisions of the civil courts [Permbarimi], the Notary's Office, and the establishment of a single statistical service for the justice organs, while also creating conditions for coordinating legal propaganda work with the Supreme Court, the Investigator General's Office, the Prosecutor General's Office, and other state organs. The Ministry of Justice is now working on all these problems.

The advantages of the new organization of justice create more genuine opportunities for the progress of the work of all sectors of the judiciary, but the changes we are making will not take place of their own accord. They demand more skilled work in all fields. New tasks cannot be accomplished with old-fashioned methods and ways of thinking.

Alongside the organization and staffing of the ministry, and a greater increase of responsibility in the work and continual training of its cadres, a correct conception of this reorganization on the part of all working people at the base, the creation of new opportunities for work in every situation we encounter, tighter discipline, and more accountability will no doubt be decisive factors for the success of work in all sectors.

The district and regional courts, the Bench of Advocates, and other organs of justice must respond better in their work to the tasks assigned by the recent plenums of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and the new laws and decrees, raising their standards of quality in the dispensation of justice and further democratizing the entire court process. In this way, their work will better serve to strengthen unity in the hearts of the people and to educate the working masses in a sense of respect for socialist legality.

The Ministry of Justice, relying on the party's teachings, will play the role which belongs to it in further deepening the process of democratizing of our entire legislation. It will struggle to ensure that our state functions as a single organism, a modern legal state which bases all its activities on the laws approved by the people.

Prime Minister's Resignation Forecast for 8 Nov

AU0611163590 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 5 Nov 90 p 1

[Angelina Petrova commentary: "Union of Democratic Forces' Government by the End of the Week"]

[Text] Andrey Lukanov is expected to resign from his post of prime minister on Thursday, 8 November 1990. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] parliamentary faction will give him the opportunity to make this decision. This date is the deadline for the expiration of the confidence vote which Lukanov himself determined in accordance with his own conditions under which he is prepared to implement the government program he drafted together with this team. It would be a miracle if this does not happen, the sources of the second superpower in the Grand National Assembly claim. The SDS deputies are categorical in their unanimous resolve to prevent the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] at all costs from monopolizing their historical chance to implement the radical change of Bulgarian society. The only problem about which the SDS parliamentary faction is still arguing is whether to admit any BSP members in the future government. The leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, who in theory should share the ideals of the new Socialists, is particularly irreconcilable on this point—regardless of whether this behavior is unexpected, or not.

The implementation of the socialist ideal is postponed to an indefinite future. This is not only so because the leader of the present government did not take into account the need of preparing an alternative solution for a different worthy political behavior in case he fails to win a broad parliamentary support for his program, and not only because his party was incapable of using its one year confidence credit in order to preserve its position in the state leadership after winning the parliamentary elections. The real reason for the failure is that the socialism of present-day France, or present-day Sweden has just no chances whatsoever in present-day impoverished Bulgaria.

This, however, does not mean that Lukanov has no more chance of playing a role in the country's political life. The SDS will certainly continue to take his undoubtable leadership qualities into consideration.

Sofia Student Strike Continues; Spreads to Ruse

Declaration Expresses BSP Distrust

AU0611122490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Excerpts] "We express our categorical distrust in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] government's ability to cope with the current economic and political crisis," a declaration of students from the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia, who are on strike, reads. A general meeting discussing the drafting of an action program is just taking place at the university, which is also attended by professors supporting the strikers and by representatives of the Reform Club. The students received an invitation from the president's office expressing Zhelyu Zhelev's readiness to meet delegates of the strike committees.

A sit-in also began at the Ruse Technical University. This what our correspondent Stefanov reports:

[Begin Stefanov recording] According to information provided by the local strike committee, the students who occupied the central part of the technical university building firmly rely on the support of the majority of their colleagues. The first 100 signatures under a list of demands were collected within 30 minutes in front of the university's main entrance this morning. [passage omitted]

The other parts of the university building are not yet occupied by the strikers. The strike committee urged the students to boycott lectures. Talks with the strike committee on specifying the students' demands with the purpose of possibly ending the sit-in have started at the local Ministry of Internal Affairs headquarters in Ruse. [end recording]

Zhelev Appeals for End to Sit-In

AU0611141990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Statement by Presidency spokesman Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, called in to Sofia Radio on 6 November—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the tension that has emerged in Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University, I have been authorized to say the following:

Nobody doubts or denies the legitimate character of the demands of some student organizations. They must, however be pursued through legal means. The sit-in is not such a means. Such actions do not facilitate the democratic processes in Bulgaria, but rather hinder them, because they create social tension and excessive suspicion and lack of confidence among the political forces. Since in Bulgaria there is a legally elected parliament which works permanently, nobody has the right to assume the role of guarantor of Bulgaria's democratic processes. The president appeals to the student organizations to demonstrate more political prudence and a greater sense of responsibility, and stop the sit-in.

Precisely at this phase of the democratic process, when the political forces are conducting consultations on forming the new government, it is very important to maintain civic peace and tranquility in the country.

Expresses Support for Student Demands

AU0611174590 Sofia BTA in English 1644 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—At today's meeting President Zhelyu Zhelev had with representatives of the strikers, it became known that the president backs up the demands of the students who occupied Sofia University late last night, but he is against the type of strike they declared.

The students do not think that the president's position can be a cause for calling off the strike.

In the afternoon the president appealed on them to call off the strike.

So far the students' demands have been officially backed up by the Alternative Socialist Party, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Forum of Free Democrats (a faction which split from the Bulgarian Socialist Party).

The students insist that the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) should assume responsibility for the dead-lock the Bulgarian people is in, that the property of the BSP and of its public formations the Bulgarian Democratic Youth and the Fatherland Union, should be nationalized and "considered state property until the contrary is proved", that all BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]-BSP property transactions concluded after November 10, 1989 should be canceled and that the informers of the former State Security Department in the academic community and in parliament should be named.

The students stated their demands in a memorandum on October 25 and made an ultimatum on the state bodies and the BSP Supreme Council. Last week they were invited to a meeting with high ranking party functionaries which, according to the students, was "ridiculous", because the Socialists behaved "as if butter would never melt in their mouths".

The decision to go on strike was taken late last night after heated debates.

The central building of the Technical University in Ruse was occupied at night. The students declared they would be on strike for an unspecified period of time.

The Medical Academy in Sofia was occupied today.

The demands made by some student organizations are legitimate, but nobody has the right to achieve their ends by illegal action, the spokesman for the president, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, who announced President Zhelev's appeal stated on the Bulgarian Radio in the afternoon today.

Nobody should usurp the right of a guarantor of democracy when Bulgaria has a legitimately elected working parliament, the spokesman pointed out.

Spokesman Stoyanov said that the students' strike is particularly unwelcome, because it mounts political tensions at a moment when the major political forces are holding consultations. The students' action increases the mistrust and mutual suspicion among the political parties, the president's spokesman stated.

Chief Prosecutor Says Sit-In Illegal

AU0611202790 Sofia BTA in English 2009 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—According to the Prosecuting Magistracy the sit-in strike at Sofia University runs counter to law.

In essence in comes under the regulations of Article 3 of the Meetings, Rallies and Demonstrations Act containing provisions for their organization and holding. Besides, other citizens' rights and freedoms should not be violated, it is said in the announcement of the Prosecuting Magistracy.

Youth Organizations Take Stand

AU0611214390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] The Student Movement for Democratization would not like to see universities turn into arenas of political struggles, a declaration to the Bulgarian public issued by the movement reads. We do not accept the sit-ins and the disrespect for parliamentary democracy and the legality in resolving any problems, the document points out.

The Union of Democratic Youth adheres to and supports the just demands of the National Student Strike Committee, a declaration of the union's Presidium points out. The documents demands that the Bulgarian Socialist Party admit its responsibility for the national catastrophe and declare the real scope of its property. A demand has also been expressed that the extent of the property of the former Dimitrov Youth Communist Union be published, declared, and transferred to the Bulgarian youth for just and equal use. The union supports the establishment of a coalition government, in which the Union of Democratic Forces will be the dominating force.

Finance Minister Hints at Imminent Price Increase

AU0611182690 Sofia BTA in English 1650 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Belcho Belchev, minister of finance and deputy chairman of Mr. Lukanov's present cabinet, is afraid that there will be a rise in the prices very soon, but goods will remain scarce. And that will be the end of the government, Mr. Belchev said. Prices of food stuffs will soar three or four times by the end of the year.

The above statement was made at the news conference held today in connection with the budget the government presented for the last few months of the year.

The government submitted its updated budget much later than its program. It was approved at first reading only by one parliamentary committee. "But if not passed by parliament, it will become merely useless," Minister Belchev said.

The budget is balanced. "It was difficult to balance it," Mr. Belchev underlined. There will be no financing of capital investment in the material production and the sectors not engaged in material production, except for hospitals, schools and kindergartens. Administration expenditure will not be financed, too.

The approach of balancing the budget, will be applied in 1991, too, the minister of finance stated.

This year's budget deficit is expected to come up to one billion 611 million leva, he said.

Minister Belchev is against the implementation of a monetary reform. But he predicts arguments on the outer appearance of the banknotes on which plants with stacks belching smoke and Georgi Dimitrov's face are now seen.

Sofia BSP Committee Warns Against Civil Unrest

AU0611122690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] A declaration issued by the Sofia City Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Committee reads as follows:

The democratic process, human rights, peace, and calm are once more threatened in our capital. We declare that we do not accept the efforts of a handful of adventurers trying to precipitate our society into confrontation and street fights. We shall not permit Bulgaria's fate to be decided upon outside parliament and outside the institutions elected by the National Assembly.

The declaration of the BSP City Committee urges Sofia citizens to resist and defend civil peace, the rights of the individual, and democracy.

Burgas Oil-Chemical Workers Ready To Strike

AU0611200490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] For the sixth day, almost 10,000 workers of the Burgas oil-chemical plant remain ready to strike. Negotiations between the strike committee and the government are also continuing for the sixth day. For months the Burgas workers have waited for the government to guarantee the normal supply of oil and implement the demands included in the petition submitted on 24 July to the Grand National Assembly. The demands also include increasing pensions for prolonged length of service and extending leave for workers working under difficult conditions.

The position of the prime minister in connection with certain additional demands of the Burgas oil workers prompted them to demand his resignation. The Burgas workers unanimously joined this decision of the strike committee, which negotiates with the government in Sofia.

According to Ivan Kunchev, spokesman of the strike committee, if the workers' demands are not met, on Thursday [8 November] the workers will begin a real strike. The railroad installations and the pipelines will be closed down and the workers will prevent the transportation of oil products from the plant. The consequences of this step could be fatal for all spheres of the country's socioeconomic life.

Nevertheless, the petroleum company has been warned to reserve the necessary quantity of fuel and oil products needed to supply the health protection establishments, schools, and other important social objects.

Will Thursday be the fatal day? This depends to a large degree on the negotiations that continue at the Ministry of People's Health and the talks with the Grand National Assembly members.

Lukanov Cancels Meeting With Strike Leader

AU0611200590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Today Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, canceled a meeting with Ivan Naydenov, representative of the strike committee of the Burgas Oil-Chemical Plant. The meeting was to have dealt with the ultimatum Naydenov gave the Bulgarian Government during the 5 November television program.

The Council of Ministers has repeatedly stated that it is prepared to conduct a dialogue in a constructive spirit with all public forces but that it will not negotiate under the pressure of ultimatums.

In the afternoon, a meeting with representatives of the administrative leadership and trade union organizations of the oil-chemical plant took place at the Council of Ministers. In a sincere and serious atmosphere the real problems of the plant and its collective and the chances of resolving them were reviewed. The prime minister stressed that the fuel supply during the winter is so important for every family and for the country's stability that no one is allowed to utilize a monopoly position, to the detriment of the people's social interests.

The government is determined to apply all measures provided by the law in order to prevent the interruption of the fuel supply.

TU Council Adopts Position on Government Crisis

AU0611214490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] After a long and stormy meeting, the Coordination Council of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria adopted with 52 votes for, two against, and six abstaining votes the position of the Executive Committee of the Confederation on the governmental crisis.

Government Cancels Meeting With Podkrepa TU

AU0611153490 Sofia BTA in English 1514 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—Today the government announced the cancellation of the meeting it was to have with the leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. It was planned to hold consultations on some urgent measures to be taken for the stabilization of the basic foods supply of the big cities.

The government states that the Podkrepa leadership is not sincere with its partners. This is confirmed by its active participation in a number of drives aimed at destabilizing the socioeconomic situation and hindering the attempts to overcome the political crisis through constructive cooperation among the major parliamentary forces.

Podkrepa Declaration on Cancellation

AU0611172890 Sofia BTA in English 1637 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—In connection with the announcement that the meeting is canceled the Executive Board of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has declared, that Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov forgot to tell the people that at the talks he intended to ask Podkrepa to give their consent for a rise in the prices of meat and milk.

The communist rule has been creating chaos and tension in Bulgaria for 45 years and it is not Podkrepa who ruined the country.

The government is deliberately creating a situation which it will use and an excuse for its resignation.

The Podkrepa Labor Confederation defends the interests of the working people and it is concerned about the prosperity of the nation. The time of communism is running out and a government which refuses contacts with the trade unions is doomed. We call upon the prime minister for a constructive partnership, it is said in the declaration of Podkrepa.

Lukanov, TU Leader Petkov Discuss Food Supply

AU0611202890 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, November 6 (BTA)—Today Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and Prof. Krustyu Petkov, leader of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB), discussed the serious problem of food supplies Bulgaria is faced with at the moment. The problem arises from "the disproportions and contradictions built up in the system of purchasing agricultural produce", it is said in the information about the meeting released by the Council of Ministers .

Premier Lukanov informed the CITUB representatives about the concrete decisions of the government aimed at urgently finding a way out of the critical situation.

An agreement was reached to set up a joint working group of experts of the government and the CITUB who will discuss the worked out projects.

Prof. Petkov, who on Sunday declared himself to be for a new government dominated by the opposition, stated that the CITUB will study the information received from Mr. Lukanov, after which they will announce their final stand.

The talks between the government and the CITUB are going on tomorrow.

Consumers' Federation Protests High Food Prices

AU0711083290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Nov 90 p 1

[Text] The Bulgarian Consumers' Federation will use all legal forms of public intervention against the introduction, in whatever form, of unjustifiably high prices for essential goods, which the mass consumer cannot afford. Sharp increases in food prices are only possible when a working system of compensation has been set up to guarantee the subsistence of people with low incomes, states the declaration of the Bulgarian Consumers' Federation which was issued on 2 November. The declaration is made in connection with the reports which have appeared in the mass media on the forthcoming retail sale of meat at free prices in a special chain of stores supplied by private companies.

While welcoming the noble intentions of the Union for Citizen's Economic Initiative to assist in satisfying the denuded market, the Consumers' Federation expresses disagreement with the price breakthrough made in the prices of essential food products, in contravention of Article 86 of Decree No. 56 on Economic Activity and the legal acts issued on the basis of this decree.

The prices announced will allow only the rich to secure meat supplies, and at the same time will redirect meat supplies from the already bare state stores to the private companies' shops. Bewilderment is voiced at the passivity of the competent state authorities toward an act which is in sharp contradiction with the existing legal regulations, the declaration states.

Rights, Freedoms Leader Dogan Condemns Extremism

AU0711093590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Nov 90 p 4

[Interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS), by Mila Manova; place and date not given: "The DPS Is Not Interested in Turning Bulgaria Into a Second Lebanon"]

[Text] [Manova] Mr. Dogan, the blowing up of the DPS Club in Shumen was the second great provocation, following the burning down of the party house in Sofia. What is your comment on this?

[Dogan] This was not the only hostile act committed against the movement, although it made a great impression. Recently two mosques were set on fire in Khaskovo and Provadiya, and extremist forces attacked a strike committee in Silistra. There were murders in Aytos and Aleksandrovo, and DPS activists have been beaten up in various places. The bomb explosion was simply the culmination which followed the burning of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] party house.

Through their destructiveness at a very complex moment, certain forces may cause a chain reaction in ethnic hostility. It is not to be excluded that the processes may become uncontrollable. We are doing everything possible to avoid reaching extremes, because if the policy becomes "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," the consequences will be terrible, and not only for the instigators. The facts which we have available unfortunately do not enable us to identify those responsible for the above crimes. However, the perpetrators, whoever they may be, must clearly be aware that they are playing with fire and with the fate of everyone. The DPS is not interested in turning Bulgaria into a second Lebanon.

[Manova] Is society aware of the real danger presented by extremist forces?

[Dogan] It seems to me that society has adopted no definite view on this issue. At present it is happy merely issuing declarations. However, I believe that life will teach everyone to commit himself to becoming a potential defender of the rights and freedoms of the individual as a guarantee for his own security, as well as for the security of the country, because anyone who neglects the liberties of citizens and the ethnic minorities inevitably places a question mark over the security of the entire community and the whole of civil society.

[Manova] How do you explain the fact that distrust in your movement has accumulated over many years?

[Dogan] This is because of a number of factors. First, the movement has had an illegal period in its activities since 1985. If we look back, we will realize that separatist tendencies emerge to a greater or lesser extent in any movement which is aimed at guaranteeing the survival of a community.

The second factor is the events since May 1989, for which the DPS assumed its own share of the responsibility. However, we were not the initiators of the emigration—its roots lay in the decisions of the government and Politburo of the time, which in essence led to the deportation of part of our population. This provoked our reaction and our active stance. Looked at in retrospect, these facts arouse awe, and perhaps even fears in some people. Nonetheless, the fact that such a mass of people could be organized under illegal conditions is indicative of our capabilities.

The third factor is the present legitimate presence of our movement in society's political system; following 4 January 1990, when it was registered, the movement succeeded in winning strong positions, and in the elections managed to put 23 of its own deputies into parliament.

We have not taken a destructive position on a single issue, and there can be no question concerning separatism. Quite the contrary, we are striving to contribute to the positive development of the renewal. No one has the right to accuse us of separatism at the present, merely because this was the way we survived when the totalitarian structures were in force. I hope that the forces inside and outside parliament will do everything possible not to question the existence of the DPS in general.

[Manova] Is there any danger that this point will be reached?

[Dogan] For me, to raise the question of the existence or not of a group of the population, or a national minority, is a sign of shortsightedness. The DPS conference once again confirmed our determination, as a constructive force, to defend the peaceful transition. It is more correct to consider how we can work together, because we depend on one another in the building of a democratic civic society.

[Manova] What is being done at the local level to make the interests of the different ethnic groups closer?

[Dogan] The consolidation of the nation is one of the basic conditions for conducting the democratic process. This is why all of us, the state institutions included, must commit ourselves to this. Prior to the "revival" process, understanding, neighborliness, and a common way of life existed between the various ethnic groups. This act raised a real wall between them, and it is now difficult to eliminate the consequences and restore the old interrelationships. It might take a generation to achieve this.

We have never intended to "shut ourselves away" in a cultural or economic sense. The processes in a country are always subject to some extent to the effects of economic levers and social laws. It is already an anachronism for someone even to want to "preserve" himself, to shut himself away, or isolate himself. Now, when we give priority to universal human values and the humanitarian structures of civilization, it is high time for us to forget the fascist slogan "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians."

[Manova] How can we work together?

[Dogan] By reviving socioeconomic interests. The joint engagement, irrespective of ethnic affiliation, in the whole of social, cultural, political, and economic life is a sine qua non for the country's development. New types of production processes and relations cannot be formed easily and quickly. The legislators are not in much of a hurry. We must look for mechanisms which unite and draw us together, such as economic ones for example, mechanisms which apply everywhere. We need a clear program to escape from passivity and stimulate material interests. What is more, we must restore a sense of justice in a large section of the population—the people who soiled their hands in the "revival process" must receive their just deserts.

[Manova] May not this give rise to new tensions at the local level?

[Dogan] Everyone who overexerted himself must answer for what he did.

[Manova] Can we be objective, when we examine this "overexertion"? Will there not be another chain reaction?

[Dogan] The democratic process cannot be halted, whatever events may occur. We can feel that we have equal rights only if we also have an equal status as far as guilt is concerned.

[Manova] Through which lands does Bulgaria's road to Europe pass?

[Dogan] If you are sufficiently informed about the sources from which our state is so far obtaining the most opportunities for reviving the economy, you will know the answer to this question.

Zhelev on Coalition Cabinet at Glasnost Meeting

AU0611202090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Vasil Popov report]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] cannot govern alone, while the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is still unable to rule the country by itself, and is unlikely to manage to do so in the future, said President Zhelev at the meeting of the Glasnost and Democracy Club held in Sofia on 3 November. We must move toward the idea of a coalition government, continued Dr. Zhelev, adding that it was of no importance who dominates the coalition, but it will probably be the BSP.

The president made this statement in connection with his thesis that within the storm of extreme polarization of society, which in his view will become even more marked in the coming months, one must build bridges between parties and movements. The Glasnost and Democracy Club might play such a role. Dr. Zhelev reminded the audience that the "old" Club for Support of Glasnost and Restructuring was the first unofficial movement which did not allow itself to be destroyed by the old regime. Later, he said, "Ecoglasnost," "Podkrepa," "Civic Initiative" and other movements were formed under the club's umbrella.

The former chairman of the club, who is now president of the Republic, stated that party leaders have emerged from the club's membership, but that "the two declarations against the Zhivkov regime on the Turkish issue which we found the courage to make were a historic event."

Most of the speakers expressed regret that a split had developed in the club, when the majority of the members decided to join the SDS, while the remainder restored the club's old name. Elements of confrontation were apparent in the speech of Ivaylo Trifonov. He pointed out that the division was provoked by the conviction of some members that the BSP can change Bulgaria, while others, like himself, decided that this party would not carry through the change, and accordingly left its ranks.

In response to this Ducho Mundov said that the members included people with differing moral principles, and that some of them even now are continuing to make a career, as they had done before 10 November.

Valeri Petrov did not agree that the meeting should end in this way. He said that even today the club can be a place for reducing the level of conflict.

In the view of Iskra Panova, a new association of this kind might fill this gap in public life, but not by using present means, and without cries of "Up with this" and "Down with that."

The change was a dream of the intelligentsia, said Blaga Dimitrova, who then pointed out why some of their expectations were not realized. Every new day poses pressing tasks, she continued, and we must try to be an open community of fellow workers, a breeding ground for ideas and deeds.

Speeches were also made by Nikolay Vasilev, Khristo Radevski, Mariya Boykikeva, Petko Simeonov, Mikhail Velichkov, Dimitur Ovcharov, Bernard Muntyan, Ivan Marev, Evgeni Vladimirov, Emil Georgiev, and Elka Panova. Most people did not agree with Koprinka Chervenkova, who said that this was a "funeral" meeting. The speakers expressed their best regards toward all those who two years ago yesterday dared to press for the liberation of intellectual potential, irrespective of the "small difference of political views" which followed.

Former Communist Leaders' Privileges Revealed

AU0611200990 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 6 Nov 90

["Socialists Reveal Top-Crust Nomenclature Privileges"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—Of the former leadership of the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and Bulgaria, only the present prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, had a liking for "socialist" motor cars. He availed himself of the privilege granted to the ruling top-crust to buy cars without waiting for their turn to buy a Skoda.

Some other well-known names of politicians of the recent past were also mentioned at today's news conference with the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) along with well-known makes of cars produced in the West (ideologically rejected until one year ago) which an ordinary Bulgarian could not afford to buy.

For example, Pencho Kubadinski, former member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, who is known to be a great hunting fan, bought a Toyota Land Rover for himself and a Volkswagen and a Mazda for his family. Todor Zhivkov's son Vladimir has obviously a flair for Land Rovers, because he also bought a Jeep, while Zhivkov's granddaughter Evgeniya contented herself with a Mercedes 280 SEL.

All cars were purchased at the International Plovdiv Fair by decision of the former BCP CC [Central Committee] Politburo based on a special list comprising names of the top-crust nomenclature. Dobri Dzhurov (former defense minister, now a MP of the BSP), Milko Balev (former Zhivkov's "right-hand" who is under investigation now) and dozens of other privileged bought four Western cars each. Aleksandur Lilov, the present leader of the Socialists, purchased "only" one Mazda.

The list has been discovered in the BCP archives by a special commission of the BSP Supreme Council investigating the people who are responsible for the present unprecedented crisis in Bulgaria. According to Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, who chairs the commission, the list is just a small bit of the "colossal amount" of information the commission has got to handle. The commission is determined to let the public know the whole truth, no matter whom it may concern, Mr. Tomov stated.

At the news conference the existence of yet another list was announced. It comprises the names of people who in the 1985-1989 period had the privilege to purchase Western currency without any restriction at artificially low exchange rates. Of the sum total of 340 thousand dollars sold, Zhivkov and his family bought about 100 thousand. Milko Balev ranks first of the others, then come former government leaders Grisha Filipov and Georgi Atanasov, followed by former Foreign Minister and former President Petur Mladenov, former CC secretary of ideology of the CC and present independent national representative Stoyan Mikhaylov.

The names of top-crust nomenclature members and of their relatives are on the list evidencing the "distribution" of 65 luxury flats out of Todor Zhivkov's personal housing fund. Milko Balev's son and the son of Stanko Todorov (now an MP of the BSP), Blagovest Sendov (president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, nonparty member) and Zhivko Zhivkov (former high ranking party functionary) are some of the owners of the flats. Nikolay Vasilev, now leader of the opposition Alternative Socialist party, also received such a flat.

Mr. Tomov said that the commission would complete their work by the end of next week. All data will be presented to the press. Mr. Tomov confirmed the decision of the BSP to hand over the party archives to the state archives.

At the news conference the BSP confirmed its position on forming a coalition government which should reflect the actual correlation of forces in parliament and which should be headed by a representative of the party which has the parliamentary majority.

Gotsev Admits Intelligence Reporting While at UN

AU0611140690 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 45 5 Nov 90 p 9

[Angelina Petrova report: "I Was 007"]

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Lyuben Gotsev may be a wonderful person, as Mr. Petur Dertliev said about him in parliament last week. One thing is certain, however, that throughout his diplomatic career, which began in the sixties and included two terms of office at the Bulgarian UN mission in New York, he never attended the "spy school" in Simeonovo.

Mr. Gotsev says: "Before I was appointed first deputy minister of internal affairs in February 1990, I never even knew where this school was located." Hence, if the fact that he was chosen for the post of foreign affairs minister a month ago was the only reason for the statement made in parliament "that the officials of our Foreign Affairs Ministry are trained in Simeonovo," these grounds are certainly insufficient.

As a matter of fact, however, this does not by any means mean that the part of the world known as the CIA, or the FBI, should doubt its original conviction that, as a diplomatic representative in New York, Lyuben Gotsev actually worked for the Bulgarian Intelligence Service. In addition to all other evidence, the fact was allegedly reported to the U.S. authorities by another Bulgarian diplomat. Gotsev admitted: "I was on the brink of exposure. Fortunately, however, the U.S. State Department did not demand that I should be expelled, presumably because it was sure about who I was."

Mr. Gotsev's confession appears shocking only against the background of the long-standing taboo imposed on normal diplomatic activities in our country which extend to the supply of information (through legal channels!). In civilized countries (as we have recently got used to saying) a scandal erupts only if a diplomat tries to obtain the information he is interested in through illegal channels.

Mr. Gotsev claims that Bulgarian diplomats are expected to report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this "type" of activity. However, they do not have to brief the minister, or his deputies on such matters. The "individual" to whom they report may be an "ordinary employee of the ministry," Lyuben Gotsev explains. He is nevertheless unwilling to lift any more of the veil of total silence that has so far enveloped this exceptionally interesting James Bond-like sphere in the official activities of our Bulgarian diplomatic service.

Foreign Minister Gotsev Interviewed in New York

AU0611160790 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 44 31 Oct 90 p 11

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Lyuben Gotsev by Nadezhda Kabakchieva, at La Guardia Airport in New York on 2 October: "What Is New in Bulgarian Diplomacy?"; first paragraph is ANTENI introduction]

[Text] This interview was not previously arranged through official channels. The questions were not drafted and discussed according to editorial practice in the weekly's foreign affairs department, or with the respective supervisor. We met Minister Gotsev in the lobby of La Guardia Airport in New York. We were waiting for the arrival of President Zhelev and his team from Boston, but their flight was delayed. Naturally, when a journalist is sitting next to a minister, he takes the advantage of the opportunity for an interview which might interest the majority of our readers.

[Kabakchieva] You were only recently appointed to the post of minister, but as a diplomat of long standing you have enough experience in this sphere. How do you view your future activities, what are your ideas, and what should be changed in this field according to you?

[Gotsev] It is my conviction that we should not waste our time, that we should examine all organizational and other opportunities for updating the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in accordance with our country's new situation. The second objective is that we should use all our former experience, my own and that of my colleagues included, so that we may somewhat shift the priorities of Bulgarian foreign policy. We should concentrate our efforts on those areas and spheres where real opportunities exist for improving Bulgaria's bilateral relations.

We will by no means forget our multilateral commitments. They are particularly important today and the same applies to our traditional foreign relations. We intend to focus our interest on the new developments of European affairs and on the current trends on the continent. We will further intensify our mutual relations with our Western European partners. Let us not forget that developed countries capitalist countries do not exist only in Europe. I am talking about the United States, Canada, and Japan—countries which we often considered as being too distant and not very convenient economic partners for our country. It is precisely in those countries that we can find great resources for Bulgaria and we should prepare for effective and serious cooperation with them.

I am not in favor of forgetting our former partners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, either. Regardless of the incipient changes within the CEMA organization, our interests still coincide in some spheres. Further useful opportunities are likely to emerge in the future in this respect. Naturally, all this does not solely depend on us, but also on our partners. Throughout my career I have always been a supporter of active relations with our friends, and with our neighbors in particular, regardless of their geographical situation—whether they are situated in the north, the south, or the west. We must do everything necessary to intensify our relations with those countries.

BSP's Tomov, SDS' Ludzhev on Assembly's Future

AU0611120590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 1 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and Dimitur Ludzhev, member of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Georgi Miloshev; place and date not given—"About Confrontation and its Consequences"]

[Text] [Miloshev] Does the possibility of dissolving the Grand National Assembly exist?

[Tomov] The possibility exists from an abstract point of view. However, this would have exceptionally grave economic, political, and international consequences. It is a step that conceals in itself a great danger of stopping the democratic process. Since I believe in the common sense of the contemporary Bulgarian politicians, I think that such a step is not very probable.

[Miloshev] Nevertheless, let us assume that it happens. How do you see Bulgaria's immediate future? Presidential power, military dictatorship, or perhaps, (God forbid!) civil war?

[Tomov] Anarchy could be another result. If a parliamentary crisis emerges, the only buffer for contradictions between the political forces will disappear. This will cause an upsurge of extremist forces and the supporters of the radical positions in the two major political formations. The centrist forces, people inclined to compromise, will become a factor of secondary importance. This would mean either revenge-seeking and totalitarianism (if certain extremist forces in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] win,) or the rebirth of neo-Stalinist traditions and reflexes, (if the extremist elements in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] win.)

[Miloshev] Do you exclude the possibility of military dictatorship?

[Tomov] This is the most unfavorable alternative. However, if the extremist groups begin to determine the country's political image, this could lead to a conflict, which, for its part, could provoke military interference. I simply do not want to think about this alternative! In anything related to foreign policy, every confrontation would cause a sharp deterioration in the confidence in Bulgaria and withdrawal, at least for several years, of all possible investments. The result will spell the end of the reforms and the democratic process.

[Miloshev] Imagine for a moment that you have all power in your hands. What three problems would you resolve first?

[Tomov] While this question is too hypothetical I would try to answer. In any event I would seize the levers used by the extremist forces in the two major formations, those who continuously exacerbate the atmosphere. Second, I would try to rapidly stabilize the work of the Grand National Assembly by creating a precise timetable of adopting the laws. The legal basis is a stabilizing element. It will allow us to reach a consensus about the program of the transition toward market economy. Furthermore, it is necessary to eliminate as soon as possible the issues which prevent the political forces from establishing closer relations. As far as our party is concerned, this first of all means a resolution to the issues of guilt and property, and as far as the opposition is concerned—eliminating revenge-seeking moods that appeared recently.

[Miloshev] One month ago, in our previous interview you were an optimist. And now? If your answer is affirmative, are you more or less optimistic than then?

[Tomov] I am an optimist, unfortunately however, less than I was. Of course, this optimism is not absolute. However, in any event I think that there is no alternative to the democratic changes in Bulgaria. Even if we have to overcome certain difficult obstacles, we shall eventually reach the goal toward which the basic political forces are striving. The most difficult stage—the beginning of the economic reform—lies ahead. It is precisely at this moment that the political forces must come closer to each other and inclined to mutual compromises. Otherwise, the country could find itself in a catastrophe. On the other hand, my optimism is prompted by the general state of international relations. There is no political force in our great and contradictory world, that is interested in conflicts in this part of Europe. Everyone, without exception, is interested a peaceful development along the road of democracy.

I also asked Dimitur Ludzhev, presidential adviser, whether there is a danger of a parliamentary crisis. As could be expected, in addition to the encouraging similarities, the answers also contained serious differences.

Ludzhev thinks that the parliamentary crisis is a luxury the country cannot afford. However, if this happens nevertheless, the only possible solution would be that the president assume the power. There simply is no other acting institution. Of course, the head of state will not govern by himself. He could propose a provisional government.

[Miloshev] Do you envisage the possibility of military dictatorship?

[Ludzhev] This also could not be excluded. A parliamentary crisis could produce social conflicts. Certain forces could try to utilize them and thus create conditions of a "justified" interference on the part of the military.

The presidential adviser stressed that people belonging to Zhelyu Zhelev's team, and the people's representatives of the SDS are diligently seeking a parliamentary solution of the existing problems. He is convinced of this.

The emergence of a cabinet crisis is another issue, Ludzhev said, but this depends first of all on Andrey Lukanov.

We began to explore this possibility, which also conceals many unknowns.

[Ludzhev] I cannot understand the members of the present cabinet. They want to be reformers, but reformer with guarantees. If somebody really strived to be a reformer he should have already proved it, without awaiting the approval of all political forces.

[Miloshev] Why? Is this impossible?

[Ludzhev] I would say that this is difficult under the present conditions. However, I do not think that this is the correct way. It is necessary to assume responsibility. The government should present its program and then try to implement it, and thus become worthy of confidence....

[Miloshev] Otherwise?

[Ludzhev] Otherwise, it should leave this to other people.

[Miloshev] Do we have suitable people?

[Ludzhev] I am convinced that we have such people. I also am convinced that the protraction must cease, because it is fatal for Bulgaria. At least one third of the measures which now are planned, could already produce results.

[Miloshev] What alternative do you see? A program-based government?

[Ludzhev] This was a good idea, a chance wasted by all sides. However, when the idea was proposed not only the leadership of the SDS but also the BSP leadership did not have time to assimilate and analyze it. In any event, the fact that Andrey Lukanov decided to seek a solution along the road of forming a coalition government was the basic cause of the failure. Time was completely wasted....

[Miloshev] Do you think that the political leaders are more open to a new solution now?

[Ludzhev] Everything depends on whether we reach a parliamentary agreement on the basic issues—the activity of the National Assembly, the property, and the guilt.

Dimitur Ludzhev recalled that the government of national responsibility was mentioned in the declaration of Zhelyu Zhelev on his election as chairman of the Republic. However, he pointed out that there can be no coalition government without the prerequisite of elementary confidence.

...There is much in the answers of Aleksandur Tomov and the positions of Dimitur Ludzhev that evokes thoughts. However, the parliament and the government no longer have much time to compare positions and analyze them.

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Problems Still Not Fixed

AU0711082290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Nov 90 p 1

[Iliya Borisov report]

[Text] Kozloduy, 2 Nov—The breakdown that occurred last Tuesday (30 October) in the No. 5 Generating Unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has created many difficulties in the national energy system and put the operators of the nuclear power complex to a severe test. Despite continuous work by the most experienced specialists, the causes of the breakdown of the unit have still not been determined. This made it necessary for them to seek permission to disconnect the earth protection system from the manufacturer of the system, the "Elektrosila" Works in Leningrad. This permission was granted in a timely way. Operations are now being conducted in order to locate the fault and assess its seriousness.

Simultaneously with the continuing work on eliminating the causes of this serious breakdown, a close watch is being kept on the behavior of the 1000-megawatt reactor. Its power output has been reduced to the minimum of barely one percent, enough to permit it to "breathe." The unit was disconnected from the national energy system immediately when the fault occurred. The power engineers are applying efforts to ensure the normal operation of the remaining 440-megawatt reactors.

Police Seeking Former GDR Intelligence Chief

LD0611150690 Hamburg DPA in German 1439 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia (DPA)—Markus Wolf, once all powerful in the GDR secret service, is being sought by the Bulgarian police. The search started after allegations emerged yesterday to the effect that Wolf has been seen with his wife and son on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast. The Interior Ministry said on the subject today that there has been so far, however, no definite findings to show that Wolf really has found shelter in Bulgaria

The former head of the Stasi espoinage wing is sought by the Federal Prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe under an arrest warrant. Markus Wolf fled from the former GDR shortly before the completion of German unification on 3 October. It has since been thought he is in the Soviet Union.

Zhelev Greets Gorbachev on Revolution Anniversary

AU0611214690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Republic, has sent a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, which reads:

On the occasion of the USSR national holiday please accept my and the Bulgarian people's cordial greetings. I sincerely wish you and all Soviet people success in restructuring and in the comprehensive renewal of the USSR, which has an exceptional importance in asserting a new international order in Europe and the world.

I take this opportunity to express my confidence that Bulgarian-USSR relations will continue to develop successfully, in our nations' mutual interest, in accordance with the traditional friendship and closeness of our peoples and the new internal and international realities.

Soviet Ambassador Holds Reception

AU0611202990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] On 6 November Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, held a reception on the 73th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The reception was attended by Nikolay Todorov, Grand National Assembly chairman; Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic; Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers; leaders of parties, movements, and organizations; and chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia.

Beron, Research Delegation Visit EC Commission

AU0611120490 Sofia BTA in English 1032 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Brussels, 6 Nov (BTA correspondent)—A delegation of Bulgarian scientists, led by Academician Blagovest Sendov, president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and including Academician Rumen Tsanev and Prof. Petur Beron, paid a brief working visit here.

At talks at the Commission of the European Communities the Bulgarian scientists were familiarized with the organisation and financing of the EC research programmes. They considered the opportunities for participation of Bulgarian scientists in these programmes.

The EC officials were briefed on Bulgaria's research capabilities and on the conditions for their development.

The Bulgarian delegation suggested a number of new initiatives for research cooperation. The EC officials showed particular interest in the suggestion for a joint use of the astronomical observatory on Peak Rozhen and the sides agreed to organize a special symposium in this connection. The Bulgarian scientists invited an EC delegation to visit Bulgaria so as to speed up the institutionalization of research contacts between Bulgaria and the Common Market.

Beron Meets Parliament Officials

AU0611120690 Sofia BTA in English 1039 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Brussels, 6 Nov (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), who is in Brussels as member of a Bulgarian scientist delegation, had a number of political meetings at the European Parliament.

He conferred with Mr. Geoffrey Harris, adviser to the President of the European Parliament Mr. Enrique Baron Crespo, with Mr. Jean-Pierre Cot, chairman of the Socialist group, and with Ms Adelaide Alieta Mep, who is in charge of liaison with the East European countries.

Mr. Beron briefed his hosts on the changes in Bulgaria.

They considered the opportunities for wider parliamentary contacts and agreed on an early exchange of delegations between the National Assembly and the European Parliament.

Caution in Relations With Turkey Recommended

AU0611150990 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Nov 90 p 4

[Captain Ivan Genov article: "Is the Flirtation With the 'Sick Man' Healthy?"]

[Text] At the threshold of a dark and gloomy winter we are looking for a bit of comfort. We accept assistance from everyone and everywhere, even financial assistance amounting to $100 million; fuel, electric power, fodder and foodstuffs from Turkey, as well as oil, gas, and Renault automobiles produced under license from Iran. We are also expecting petrodollars from Saudi Arabia which have to be "earned" as a reward for the Bulgarian military medical assistance brigade which is preparing to leave for the Persian Gulf area. We can certainly not afford to be choosy, but nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that the long awaited benefits for our long suffering country are coming from one part of the world only—namely from the Bosforus and beyond it—but certainly not from Western Europe.

Naturally, it would be too pessimistic to search for a secret intention behind the generously offered assistance, especially as regards our southern neighbor. Sofia and Ankara announced that a new era has opened in their relations. It is not the first time that this has happened. However, even the most unbiased observers could hardly discover any visible change in Turkey's "new defense strategy," which was briefly and clearly explained by Minister of State Concuman at the beginning of 1990 who declared: "Within the forthcoming years Turks living in the USSR, China, and in our neighbor countries will rise and become independent by establishing separate states under a Turkish banner. This is how the 'sick man' of the 20th Century shall restore the old power of the Ottoman Turks." There is even more: The news agencies recently reported that Turkey is expected to be granted compensation amounting to $5 billion for its involvement in the Persian Gulf, mainly consisting of additional arms deliveries, facilities for the development of military infrastructure, and so forth.

The attitude of the West to Turkey's urgent demands for integration with the EC continues to be rather cool because of the systematic mass violations of human rights in this predominantly Asian country. Ankara is trying hard to conquer a territory of economic influence on the European shore (in which our country is supposed to play a role) by noisily advertising a "Black Sea prosperity zone." Our further involvement with this idea, however, should not only be regarded under the aspect of Ankara's pressing and tempting courtship accompanied by Washington's blessing, but also under the aspect of Europe's approach to such regional, disintegrational formations, considering our striving for integration with Western Europe.

In the spirit of glasnost and openness, we should also examine the conditions, or rather the price and interests at which we receive the assistance offered to us. We should never forget that a pro-Turkish ethno-religious mass movement supported by a solid parliamentary lobby has emerged in our country as a result of narrow party intrigues. With his incautiously dropped hint about the "road to the Bosporus on the Islamic carpet" the leader of this movement prompted the justified concern that Turkish assistance might be taken advantage of for separatist goals. The Greek newspaper PODNIKI analyzed the implications of this move in a detailed manner by stating: "....Turkey will try to take advantage of Bulgaria's democratic liberalization by subjecting part of the Bulgarian state to its direct control. A Muslim majority exists in the country's southeastern region. It is easy to understand what local self-government and regional local authorities placed within the hands of fanatic Muslims might involve. The next step would inevitably be a claim for autonomy and actual annexation to Turkey.... Nothing is impossible as long as the situation in Bulgaria continues to be unstable, the more so, considering that the fanatics of the Islam and Pan-Turkism are currently raising their heads in Turkey...."

It is beyond all doubt that we can no longer live with the old burden of confrontation, distrust, and suspiciousness in the Balkans. It is precisely for this reason that specific steps of economic cooperation with Turkey should be accompanied by glasnost, openness, and clarity, that they should be closely linked to a long-term and total strategy of comprehensively settling all existing problems.

India Sending Aid To Bulgarians in Iraq

AU0611202690 Sofia BTA in English 2005 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov has sent a cable to Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, prime minister of India, expressing gratitude for the decision of India's Government to send food for the Bulgarian citizens in Iraq free of charge.

The Bulgarian Embassy in Baghdad announces that 57 tons of rice, 1.5 tons of sugar, 1.5 tons of legumes, flour, tea, powdered milk, salt and spices delivered by India have been already received and are now being distributed among the Bulgarian citizens.

1st Shipment of Cypriot Humanitarian Aid Arrives

AU0611202690 Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—The first consignment of 250 tons humanitarian aid sent by Cyprus has already been received here. The humanitarian aid granted by the Government of Cyprus will be to the tune of about 25,000 dollars' worth.

Romanian Delegation Replies to Ruse Appeal

AU0511194990 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)—Romania believes that an objective analysis of the ecological problems in the area of Ruse and Giurgiu can be conducted by extending the investigation of the sources of pollution on both the Romanian and the Bulgarian bank, the Romanian Parliament emphasizes in a declaration replying to the July 26, 1990 appeal of the Grand National Assembly. Today the declaration was handed by four Romanian MP's to academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

Romania declares itself in favor of negotiations and the signing of a convention regulating the two countries' obligations in the solution of the problems concerning the sources of pollution. The convention should lay down a system to monitor the condition of the environment in those areas and an effective mechanism to overcome ecological problems.

Zhelev Receives New Israeli, Other Envoys

AU0611141690 Sofia BTA in English 1315 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Nov (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today received Mr. Me'ir Yoffe, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the State of Israel, who delivered his credentials. The Israeli diplomat conveyed an invitation from President Hayim Herzog of Israel to Dr. Zhelev to visit that country. The Bulgarian head of state accepted the invitation.

The newly appointed ambassadors of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mr. Rasheed Ahmad [spelling as received], and of the Republic of the Philippines, Miss Alicia Ramos [spelling as received], also presented their letters of credence to the president today.

Italian Defense Minister Rognoni Pays Visit

Met by Dobrovsky Upon Arrival

LD0411162890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Italian Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni arrived in Prague for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Federal Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky.

During his visit to Czechoslovakia, Virginio Rognoni will also meet with Federal Premier Marian Calfa, Zdenek Jicinsky, first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, and other representatives.

Holds Talks With Dobrovsky

AU0511113790 Rome ANSA in English 1034 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] (ANSA)—Prague, November 5—Italian Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni, who arrived here Sunday afternoon on a three-day official visit, continues his talks here today with his Czechoslovak counterpart Lubos Dobrovsky.

It is the first visit here by a Italian defense chief and the first by any foreign defense minister since Dobrovsky took over the post from General Miroslav Vacek. In fact, Dobrovsky is the first non-military man ever to head the defense ministry in Czechoslovakia.

During Rognoni's sojourn, he will meet with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Deputy-Speaker of the Federal Assembly, Zdenek Jicinsky, and with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

The purpose of the Rognoni mission is to seek out forms of cooperation between the armed forces of the two nations.

Confers With Dienstbier

LD0511221490 Prague CTK in English 1920 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 5 (CTK)—Italian Defence Minister Virginio Rognoni who arrived here Sunday for an official visit at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Lubos Dobrovsky met here today the Czechoslovak defence minister for talks on the current changes in Europe and on the tasks of the two armies under new conditions.

The ministers paid special attention to the issues concerning cooperation of the two armies and creation of the basis of a new security system in Europe.

Earlier in the day Rognoni was received by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier. The two officials exchanged opinions on possibilities of creation of an all-European defence system and the role which the existing military organizations could play in this process. They also discussed the current situation in the Persian Gulf and assessed alternatives of its further development.

Received by Premier Calfa

LD0611191890 Prague CTK in English 1729 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 6 (CTK)—Italian Defence Minister Virginio Rognoni confirmed Italy's interest in the admission of new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe to Europe's structures, including cooperation in the security sphere.

At a meeting with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa here today, he appreciated in this context the united approach of these countries towards the Gulf crisis although it is linked with extremely harsh impact on the countries' economies. Italy is ready for cooperation with Czechoslovakia in seeking new ways for raw material supplies, he said.

The Italian guest conveyed to Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (Parliament) First Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky an invitation for a Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation to pay a visit to the Italian Parliament. The delegation should include also representatives of the Federal Assembly Defence and Security Committees.

The strengthening of cooperation in defence of the European Community does not impede the creation of an all-European security system in the future, the Italian defence minister told newsmen after talks he held with Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky, the first civilian in this post after 40 years who has recently replaced Army General Miroslav Vacek. Mr. Rognoni expressed satisfaction with the fact that Czechoslovakia highly esteems the U.N. decisions and fully respects resolutions of the U.N. Security Council.

The Italian guest today ended his two-day visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home.

Property Settlement Talks With USSR Open

LD0511200190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Experts' talks started between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the Cernin Palace in Prague today on the legal settlement of property issues in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory.

The Czechoslovak side is headed by Vojtech Wagner, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Yuriy Grishin, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, heads the Soviet delegation.

Trade Agreement With North Korea Signed

AU0511154290 Prague CTK in English 2119 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 1 (CTK)—An intergovernmental agreement signed between Czechoslovakia and the Korean Democratic People's Republic here today provides for trade in free convertible currency and under terms usual in international trade as from January 1, 1991.

The agreement was signed by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales and Deputy Chairman of the Government Council and Foreign Trade Minister of People's Korea Kim Tar-Hyong.

Reportage on Dubcek's Visit to Belgium

WA0711125190

For reportage on the visit by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek to Belgium, where he will be presented with an honorary doctorate, please see the Benelux Countries section of the 6 November West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Federal, Republican Premiers Meet 5 Nov

Pithart Comments Before Talks

LD0411202590 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] The premiers of the three governments [Federal, Czech, and Slovak] are going to meet tomorrow morning to conclude their deliberations about the respective range of powers of the individual governments. We asked the Czech premier about how he is going to approach these important talks.

[Begin Petr Pithart recording, in Czech] Above all I will insist that before we embark on discussing still unsolved questions, we reach an agreement on some fundamental rules, without which the talks would be totally impossible.

Above all, anything we are going to agree on must be agreed upon by all three premiers. It is not possible that for instance the premier of the Federal Government and premier of the Czech Government should agree on some kind of stance that they would seek to force on Mr. Meciar, premier of the Slovak Government. Equally, it is not possible that the two premiers of the republican governments should agree on something and present the premier of the Federal Government with a fait accompli. This is rule number one. Only matters on which we all agree will be put forward to be included in a bill on altering the range of powers which will be subsequently discussed and approved by the Federal Assembly.

Second, we have to agree in advance that matters on which we are unable to reach agreement by a certain time tomorrow will simply be put aside and forgotten. In other words, we are not going to return to them in the days, weeks, and months to come. Perhaps we are simply not capable for the time being of agreeing on everything. We must not allow these matters to hinder us in the weeks and months to come. We will return to them in a new situation when we will be perhaps wiser and in any case more experienced.

The third rule to which I would like to adhere is this: If anyone feels unhappy with a solution he cannot deal with the situation by any unilateral actions. [end recording]

Power Sharing Discussed

LD0511201790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] The premiers of all three governments met in Hrzan Palace in Prague today for extensive discussions on the remaining issues of the working groups set up after the July meeting in Trencianske Tepilice. The long and detailed dialogue between CSFR Premier Marian Calfa, Czech Premier Petr Pithart, and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar focused on drafting a joint proposal for changing constitutional law in the Czechoslovak Federation in the sections which affect the powers of the federation and the republics.

The draft will be discussed by all three governments—the Federal Government and the Czech and Slovak Republic Governments—as early as this week.

They agreed that, as the next step, the republican governments will submit their joint proposal to national councils and these will then submit the draft amendment to the constitutional law to the Federal Assembly.

The conclusion of today's meeting is one entity that meets the two basic requirements. One is the republics' requirement to enhance their sovereignty as expressed in the policy statements of their governments. The joint proposal also observes that the conditons for the start of economic reform are ensured from the beginning of the year [1991]. The constitutional law draft amemdment shifts power from the federal to the republic level taking into account the spheres which are directly related to economic management.

In this context the observed principle is that the economy of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is an integration of the economy of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic based on a unified national market, especially on a single currency and on the free movement of people, goods, and money.

This shows at the same time that the aim of these transfers is not debilitating. It is a new definition of the federation.

Federal activity will mainly concentrate on preparing strategic concepts in the legislative field and to a limited degree on exercising state administation.

The federation continues to bear overall responsibility for foreign policy, defense, and the currency.

Meciar on Results of Talks

LD0611174390 Prague CTK in English 1718 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Government will lose the right to veto decisions of parliaments of the Czech and Slovak republics, which gives the Slovak Parliament the right to draft legislation concerning its own status, something that did not exist before, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said here today.

Speaking to newsmen about yesterday's talks of the Federal, Czech and Slovak premiers in Prague on the division of powers between the federations and the republics, Meciar said property relations were also included in the powers of the Slovak parliament. What must still be specified is what will belong to each republic and what to the federation. The principle was adopted that the two republics will pay taxes in proportion to the number of the population and not according to economic efficiency.

Asked about Slovakia's powers in foreign trade relations, Meciar said the idea of the three governments is that contracts in the foreign trade sphere would be concluded by the individual organizations and permissions for trading activities would no longer come from federal level.

Calfa Views Possible Sharing of Government Power

AU0411214590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Oct 90 p 6

[Interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Branislav Janik in Prague on 23 and 24 October: "Let Us Seek Without Suspicion and With a Cool Head"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Due to his busy schedule, the interview with the Czechoslovak premier had to be conducted in parts. Initially, we met in the parliament, on Saturday [24 October] and in the evening in his two-and-a-half bedroom apartment (which I have to admit to my surprise, is modestly furnished) in a quiet part of Prague. I report this for those who believed the rumors of an I-do-not-know-how-many-room mansion Premier Calfa allegedly lives in. We discussed more important issues, however, and the record of the interview is hereby offered to the readers of NARODNA OBRODA.

[Janik] If a federation is to be true, or authentic as one says nowadays, it must maintain its constituent elements on the federal level. I feel, however, that the Federal Government from the first talks in Trencianske Teplice through Piestany to the last meeting in Prague this past Tuesday [23 October] is only looking for them; that the concept of the national governments, and of the Slovak Government in particular, is much clearer. What is your opinion, Mr. Premier?

[Calfa] I would not talk of authentic federation. Federal is simply federal. It was satisfactorily defined by legal science and theory, and practically demonstrated abroad. Every adjective added to the word federation is suspect. The Czechoslovak state has developed since 1918 as a unitary state with a single system of state and administrative bodies, economy, and other areas. In 1968 we began the search for a new model of relations and accepted the national principle. Today, in the quickly integrating European environment, we seek a certain mode of state arrangement and coexistence of nations. The Slovak side has suggested a certain concept of coexistence and federation. The republican and the federal elements are understood differently by the national republics. That is understandable and logical. At the same time, however, the republic premiers assert that they are willing to discuss their ideas. They do not consider them to be something definitive and fixed. Therefore, a definitive concept of the federation, be it Slovak, Czech, or federal, does not exist. For me, i.e., on the federal level, the point of departure is an objective and critical evaluation of the twenty years of the federation and the world's experiences. We sought the latter in the economy, and now we are going back to the proved, classic models. I am convinced that we will also return to the federation models well tested in the world. By the way, I believe that we will return to this also in politics; I mean, the gradual transformation of the movements into political parties.

[Janik] So, you think that pressing for a strong national element in dealing with the state-legal issues is not a specifically Czechoslovak development?

[Calfa] Precisely that is the current problem. The Slovak side pushes—and perhaps naturally so—precisely that national element. It is asserted as a specific phenomenon in the Czechoslovak conditions, and I am afraid that this might be too strong to allow us to arrange the federation objectively and logically as is done in the rest of world. I would be glad to err on this count. Just as we had to go through rough times in the economy and in politics, we certainly will have to pass through a difficult development process in national awareness. The federation of the two republics arranged on the national principle is rare in the world, and it may cause a lot of problems. This was demonstrated, for instance, during the drafting and adopting of the language bill in Slovakia, although the adopted coalition bill prepared by the Public Against Violence movement, Christian Democratic Movement, and the Democratic Party is the optimal one.

[Janik] The parliament postponed the deadline for discussing and adopting the competence law with 20 November. Does that mean that by that date the Czechoslovak federation will have its final form?

[Calfa] Not really. The submissions of the work groups and of the summarizing commission are available. The Slovak proposal goes further, however, than the consensus reached by all three parties based on the conclusions of these groups. It is a complex concept which, however, goes beyond the accepted framework. Thus, we consented to draft the sections on which the consensus exists by 20 November. We have no doubts about removing, for instance, metallurgy, energy, uranium mining, and mining from the federal level. Still open is banking, railroads, mass media, gas lines.... Slovak, Czech, and federal ideas can still be adjusted or changed, and things can be added or taken away. We will complete this on the government level by the end of October. Then, it will be discussed on the level of premiers, so as to submit the final formulation of the bill on the Czechoslovak federation for discussion in the national councils, and they will present it to the parliament. Everything, still open at that time, will be postponed for dealing with at a later date.

[Janik] Today, the transfer of competence is like a magic formula. Where, however, is the limit beyond which the state would disintegrate? As an example, I will mention the split of the banking system.

[Calfa] The strong federations as we know them in the world—Germany or the United States, for instance—share several features. They each have a single currency and issuance policy, foreign affairs and foreign trade policies, judicial system, army, and a part of the police, controlling system, border protection, etc. In Czechoslovakia, however, many of these policies at federation the level are questioned. You mentioned the banking system. We talk about a single currency and issuing policy and thereby we think of the U.S. or German system. A system is to be established consisting of a kind of a single bank of issue and two republic banks. There is some doubt, however, whether the republic banks would be technically, professionally, and conceptually prepared to take over the function of the bank of issue as well; or—the republics want the entire visa and passport operation, which the federation considers to be a federal attribute. There is talk of republic customs office. In this connection, I initiated a study, which reported that the customs duty revenues for goods coming through the offices in the Czech Republic are four times those of the customs in Slovakia. It would also be in the interest of Slovakia to do some calculations. I personally would not in this case demand the operation of the customs office and, believe me when I say that I am not saying this to preserve federal jurisdiction over the operation.

Premier Meciar said that they are willing to give up something of the Slovak global concept but, at the same time, that there is a limit to their concessions, and whatever is not reflected in the transfers of competence now, the Slovak side will want to have in the constitution. I feel that a limit thusly comprehended brings about the question of whether a system of central federal bodies is needed at all, if only elements of strategic planning and legislature are left in its competence. This is not sufficient for the federal state power and for the execution of the state administration, and it would also be a phenomenon unique in all federally structured states of the world. Well, we must jointly seek a solution without suspicion and with a cool head.

[Janik] There is talk that the trends forced into the state-legal arrangement by the national governments, and particularly by the Slovak Government, are one of the dangers threatening the economic reform. Do you think that it really is like that?

[Calfa] Why do you put the Slovak Government in a role of a suspect? Even I have already said that raising the state-legal questions postpones the economic reform. It threatens the reform in the spirit of this delay. We are at a point when we must deal with these problems and thereby other issues are postponed. This, however, does not mean that we are refusing to deal with them. The Slovak premier sets off correctly with the premise that the state- legal issues are a part of the economic reform and are for it a necessary condition. The current situation in Slovakia objectively requires that we must deal with the competence problems before we approach the economic reform. Premier Meciar made a precise judgment and now he acts accordingly. True, the situation is more difficult, but I would not refer to it as an actual threat to the economic reform. There is still one positive feature—each republic would manage its own. That must be supported.

[Janik] The government approved a preliminary report on the enterprise management in 1991 when the economic reform will be implemented. What are the greatest obstacles awaiting us, particularly in the critical first half-year?

[Calfa] I said clearly that we are building a democratic and pluralist society in our life—political, state, but economic as well. An unfortunate relic of the past, however, shows its presence: lack of independence; deficiency in some management sectors; waiting for explicit instructions, directives, precise conditions. I am not able to guess of whom is there more—those who are pleased with the market economy or those who are already scared of it. Paradoxically, I am mostly concerned with the large single-purpose factories, for instance, the armament industry in Slovakia and in Bohemia, which are hit by the conversion. At the same time, however, these enterprises have the best conditions for a successful entry in the market economy.

Unemployment is another obstacle. Today, there are eight million gainfully employed people, and we have a half-percent unemployment rate. The unemployment, however, becomes a real economic factor only at the three-percent level, i.e. with 240,000 workers. Only then will it act as a certain pressure on discipline and effectiveness. I do not want to sound cynical, but, from the economic point of view, such an unemployment rate is desirable and we want to work with it as an economic phenomenon. The most pessimistic estimates, however, speak of a 15-percent unemployment rate, i.e., over a million workers. World experience shows that at least one-half of this amount can be transferred to small and medium-sized business, and it is precisely small and large privatization that will create conditions and opportunities for these people also.

The third—and a great risk—which can be dealt with only in the long run and with difficulties at a price of a very harsh intervention is inflation. In order to eliminate inflation, we will take two unpopular measures. We must keep under control all money going to investments or to the social sphere and, at the same time, we must have strict control over all government expenses, and follow a restrictive financial policy. If the state does not receive revenues, it will automatically reduce expenses, even in the social sphere. We must have balanced relations. All money we now spend, and do not cover, is inflationary. The future progress will be a critical one. Either the enterprises will catch on and get going, or they will fail. There is no other way.

Latest Developments Within OF Discussed

AU0611150190

[Editorial Report] Czech newspapers on 1, 2, and 3 November publish commentaries on recent developments and changes within the Civic Forum [OF], as well as interviews with leading OF representatives on their assessment of these developments.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 November on page 1 carries a 350-word Vladimir Divis commentary entitled "Excommunication," which deals with the announcement made by the OF Council on 31 October that the Left Alternative and the Revival club "have abandoned the OF political line" and are "no longer considered part of the OF." Divis views this statement as a "political excommunication" of the "two main groups representing the left spectrum in OF." He points out that, in the case of the Revival Club, this move came "somewhat late," two days after Revival refused to "toe the line of the main OF current with OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus at its head" and opted for cooperation with the Social Democrats. The Left Alternative, on the other hand, "still believed in the possibility of coexistence under the broad OF roof," according to Divis, as indicated by a recent interview given by Petr Uhl, chairman of the Left Alternative, to CTK.

Divis believes that the "excommunication" of both left-wing movements from the Civic Forum, together with the attempt to remove Petr Kucera—a former member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party—from the post of chairman of the OF Club of Deputies in the Federal Assembly, mark the continuation of the OF's transformation into a "more clearly defined right-wing political party."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 1 November on page 2 carries a 300-word Tomas Marek commentary entitled "Between Life and Death." According to Marek, the "expulsion, for all practical purposes" of the Left Alternative and the Revival Club from the OF is "no big surprise," especially if viewed against the background of recent developments within the OF Club of Deputies in parliament where the "Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right," the OF's right- wing faction in parliament, "staged a coup" against Petr Kucera, the OF's parliamentary floor leader, and sought to replace him with Daniel Kroupa. Marek observes that there is now a "stalemate situation" in the OF group in parliament because neither Daniel Kroupa, the candidate of the right wing, nor Jan Sokol, the candidate of the "centrists," gained the necessary majority of votes and the decision had to be postponed. Marek asks whether, given the unbridgeable differences between the OF factions in parliament, "there will still exist something that might be called the OF Club of Deputies" by the time the next round of voting takes place.

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 1 November on page 3 carries a 1,600-word interview with Zdenek Jicinsky, first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and member of the OF Collegium, by Jana Vrzalova entitled "Through Sober Eyes." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals, among other issues, with the internal situation in OF. Jicinsky, who—as Vrzalova observes—represents the left wing within the OF, is asked about his view on the movement's "marked shift to the right" since the election of Vaclav Klaus to the post of OF chairman.

In his reply, Jicinsky admits that there exist "various currents of opinion as well as generational and political differentiation" within OF. He believes, however, that it is "inadequate" and "misleading" to speak about these differences in terms of right wing and left wing. He himself would not describe the current processes within OF as a shift to the right but as a "move toward a tougher practical policy." He believes that this shift is a reflection of the public's growing dissatisfaction with the "inconsistent changes" carried out in Czechoslovakia thus far. According to Jicinsky, the "conflicting processes" taking place not only in the Civic Forum but in the whole society will last during the entire period of transition from the totalitarian toward a democratic system.

Jicinsky is also asked to comment on the calls for greater "party discipline" within OF. He replies that "OF cannot have any party discipline because, first, it is not a political party and, second, because a number of other parties operate within OF on the basis of preelection agreements. It is impossible to bind such a complex grouping by some sort of party discipline." Jicinsky opposes a split within OF, arguing that there is currently no other political force in the country that could take over OF's "responsibility for the state."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 2 November on page 2 carries a 500-word Tomas Marek commentary entitled "It Is Impossible To Do Everything at Once." Marek views the expulsion of the Revival club and of the Left Alternative from OF as evidence that "the polarization within OF after the election of Vaclav Klaus as the movement's chairman continues faster than could be expected."

Marek goes on to ponder the impact of the OF Council's decision to sever ties with representatives of the movement's two left-wing organizations. As he points out, this decision "could have far-reaching consequences, especially in the Federal Assembly where a struggle is underway simultaneously over who will chair the OF Club of Deputies—Daniel Kroupa, representative of the Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right, or Jan Sokol, a 'man of the center.'" As the author observes, the distribution of forces between the OF's right-wing and left-wing factions in parliament is far more balanced than in the movement as a whole. Should the six departing deputies representing the Revival club and the one departing deputy representing the Left Alternative be joined by other OF deputies, the majority of the OF/Public Against Violence coalition in parliament would be jeopardized, as would the stability of Premier Calfa's coalition government. Marek believes therefore that OF's right wing will have to "restrain itself in parliamentary disputes" so as not to provoke a "consistent split" and thus endanger OF's position as the strongest group in parliament. But OF's left wing, too, has reasons to avoid a confrontation, according to Marek, because the right wing is the "stronger part of the movement" as it can easily enlist the support of the 40 deputies of the Christian and Democratic Union, 2 deputies of the Liberal Democratic Party, and some of the 16 deputies of the Society for Moravia and Silesia.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 3 November on page 1 carries an 800-word Alena Slezakova commentary entitled "Before the Third Round." The commentary deals with discords in the OF parliamentary group, which failed to elect a new chairman in two rounds of voting on 30 October. Slezakova says that while many people thought that with the election of Vaclav Klaus to the post of chairman OF had finally "found its identity," the formation of two OF groups in the Federal Assembly this month—the Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right and the Interparliamentary Civic Association—shows that "the search continues." The author believes that a failure to elect a chairman in the next round of voting, probably on 5 November, and a subsequent "disintegration" of the OF Club of Deputies would be "disastrous," in view of the huge legislative work faced by parliament in the coming weeks.

Czech Minister on Divisions Within HSD/SMS

AU0311211590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 30 Oct 90 p 2

["(IJ)"-signed report: "Moravia Supports the Coalition"]

[Text] Prague—The assembly of chairmen from the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD/SMS] district centers has decided to withdraw the right of Deputies B. Tichy, F. Pernica, M. Krajcar, and Z. Vyslouzil to speak on behalf of the aforementioned movement. At the same time, it has asked Dagmar Buresova, chairwoman of the Czech National Council [CNR], to recall Bohumil Tichy from his post as a Czech Government minister. We asked Minister Tichy to give us his point of view on this issue.

Tichy said that the establishment of the so-called Assembly of Chairmen of District Centers does not proceed from the movement's articles—valid since 4 April 1990—and does not even contain the movement's organizational structure approved at the HSD/SMS congress in Ostrava. In Minister Tichy's opinion, this situation was caused by movement members who act on instructions from Boleslav Barta. Some of them act in good faith because they have not yet had an opportunity to get to know him better. Tichy stated that 30 of the 36 HSD/SMS deputies expressed their lack of faith in the chairman prior to the assembly in Kromeriz. The revelation that he was a State Security collaborator and his draft of an anti-constitutional declaration—in which he appealed to HSD/SMS deputies to seize power in Moravia and Silesia—are merely further evidence of Barta's unsuitability for any kind of political activity. Barta, as Minister Tichy said, has placed himself at the head of a group of extremists which imitates the pressure acts organized by Slovak nationalists. He has put himself in opposition to the Czech Government and—it is difficult to say whether it is intentional or not—is exhorting the dissolution of the governing coalition in the Czech lands.

Bohumil Tichy also pointed out that the HSD/SMS assembly in Kromeriz was not a regular one because elected delegates did not participate. Before the congress took place, the HSD/SMS's deputies' clubs and the territorial council suspended Barta's chairmanship and elected a five-member collective leadership, represented by CNR Deputy Chairman Zdenek Malik, to head the movement. This leadership supports the draft territorial system being prepared by the appropriate CNR commission which should be adopted as a constitutional law in the middle of next year. This leadership also supports keeping the HSD/SMS in the Czech Government coalition and maintaining its cooperation with the Civic Forum.

Right-Wing Interparliamentary Group Being Planned

AU0511090390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 90 p 2

[Nada Adamickova report]

[Excerpt] Information on the founding of a new club "leaked" in the Federal Assembly. I asked Emanuel Mandler from the Liberal Democratic Party for details: The parliamentary club, which should meet on Tuesday, is to associate members of various parties. It should be open to practically everyone. It is a right-of-center club and its core will probably be made up of members of the Christian Democratic Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, and, possibly the Christian Democratic Movement, too. Representatives of the Moravian Movement [for Self-Governing Democracy] will participate as observers. Members of the Independent Hungarian Initiative from the Public Against Violence movement and representatives of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement have also been invited. The club will be interparliamentary, i.e. it will also include deputies to the Czech National Council. I do not yet know whether deputies to the Slovak parliament will join the club as well. [passage omitted]

Some 100 People To Be Interrogated About 17 Nov

AU0511133090 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 31 (CTK)—Some one hundred people will be interrogated by the parliamentary commission investigating the events of November 17, 1989, which led to the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, the commission's spokesman Petr Toman told journalists here today.

The interrogations should start within a fortnight, and those to be summoned will include post-November Interior Minister Richard Sacher, former head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee 13th Department Rudolf Egenbart, former Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Alojz Lorenc, who is now in custody, and former Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, Mr. Toman said.

The commission was set up earlier this month. Like its predecessor working under the previous parliament (until the June 9 elections) which only supervised investigations of the November events, this commission has the power to interrogate witnesses.

According to Petr Toman, all members of the commission have passed screening to find out whether they were not Secret Police collaborators, but deeper vetting will still be made on the basis of registers of regional cities.

The commission heard at its deliberations today also Czech Prosecutor General Ludvik Brunner who said that the only civilian to have been brought before court has been Miroslav Stepan, former Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Member and Prague's City Committee leading secretary.

Stepan was sentenced to four years in prison for abuse of the power of a public official in July, but the sentence was commuted to 2.5 years by a court of appeal earlier in October. He was tried only in connection with demonstrations in Prague in October 1988 and January 1989, but the charge against him in connection with November 17, 1989 was dropped because the circumstances of the events have not yet been clarified.

Meeting Discusses Economic Powers Issues

LD0511202790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] A consultation on the further development of our economy has ended in Znojmo. It was attended by Vladimir Dlouhy, federal minister of economy, and by ministers of the Czech and Slovak governments. Jaroslav Rektor sent us a telephone dispatch which contains more details:

[Rektor] The participants discussed the extent of powers of the two republics and the federation in the spheres of industrial structure, strategic planning, and nuclear safety. The agenda of the meeting included practically everything which is necessary and needed for the further development of all important branches of industry and the economy, such as the power industry, transport, coal extraction, and so on. The ministers also dealt, for example, with the problem posed by the demand to divide the transit gas pipeline. Also discussed were the 1991 budgets of the two republics, and in particular the setting of the rules by which the size of the budget will be determined.

The meeting has shown that fruitful cooperation between our republics and governments is essential. This also applies to our entry into the European home as one state. In this connection I would like to recall the words pronounced by Slovak Premier Meciar at the recent summit meeting in Slavkov, near Brno: Europe does not want us divided.

Although no final communique was issued on the talks of Vladimir Dlouhy and the ministers of the national governments here in Znojmo, and a number of problems remain open, the discussion was in any case another contribution to understanding between our two peoples.

Office Formed To Liquidate National Front Assets

LD0411163890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] The Czech Government approved the establishment of an independent body attached to the office of the Czech Government with the task of liquidating the property and financial assets of the former National Front of the Czech Republic.

It recommended that the aforementioned group be active until 31 August 1991. The period assigned is based on the time presumed necessary for securing the obligations and claims of the former National Front of the Czech Republic.

Michal Appointed Trade Union Executive Secretary

AU0511092090 Prague PRACE in Czech 31 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report in "Trade Unions News" column]

[Text] Roman Kovac, president of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions [CSKOS], has appointed Josef Michal executive secretary of the CSKOS General Council.

Proceedings Against Former Prosecutor General

AU0311181890

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 October on pages 1 and 3 carries a 400-word "(vyb)"-signed report entitled "M. Horakova's Rehabilitation." The report deals with the start of criminal proceedings against Jaroslav Krupauer, former prosecutor general of the Czech Republic, and two other former high-ranking officials of the Czech General Prosecutor's Office [Krupauer's deputy Antonin Jezek and department head Milan Fiser] on charges of "abusing the powers of a public official" according to Article 158, sections 1 and 2 of the Penal Code. Krupauer and his colleagues are suspected of having "violated the law" by "shelving" the rehabilitation proceedings in the case of M. Horakova and 12 other victims of the political trials in the fifties. Krupauer is also being prosecuted on charges of having "consciously and deliberately" allowed the case of former director of the Skoda car factory Zapadlo become statute-barred.

Czech, Slovak Parties Differ on Power Sharing

AU0511154190 Prague CTK in English 0943 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 30 (CTK)—Political parties in the Czech lands and in Slovakia have quite different opinions about the controversial issue of the division of powers between the Czechoslovak federation and the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

According to a CTK inquiry, in which representatives of the parties represented in the Federal Assembly (parliament) took part, the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) would leave least powers with the Federal Government, i.e., only the Defense Ministry, "part of the Finance Ministry and part of the Foreign Ministry". Slovakia already has the Ministry for Foreign Relations. A representative of the Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN) movement wants that the foreign policy, defense, security and financial policies be kept within the powers of the federation. Chairman of the opposition nationalist Slovak National Party Vitazoslav Moric gave no answer.

In the talks on power-sharing between the Federal Government and the two national republics, which still continue, the issue of the Ministry of Energy, Transport and Telecommunications has not yet been settled.

Unlike the Slovak parties, the majority of the Czech ones want to give more powers to the federation. The Czechoslovak People's Party, for instance, wants that the Ministries of Transport, Economy, and Labor and Social affairs be kept at the federal level. The Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, striving for relative autonomy of Moravia and Silesia, wants that the Power Industry, Transport, Telecommunications and Strategic Planning and only "part of Finance" remain at the federal level. The opposition Czechoslovak Communist Party proposes most extensive powers to the federation ranging from Transport and Telecommunications to the Care of Youth and the Family. A representative of the most powerful force, Civic Forum (OF), refused to give a concrete answer, referring to the current talks of expert commissions. These commissions are to prepare detailed proposals to be submitted to the Federal Assembly by November 20, 1990. If the Czech, Slovak and Federal Governments fail to agree on some issue, it will be shelved until later. At the request of the Slovak Government a Constitutional Law on the Division of Powers should be approved by the end of 1990 and come into effect on January 1, 1991.

Until now it is not certain what will be the outcome of voting. The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence have a majority of seats in the Federal Assembly.

Slovak Premier Questioned at News Conference

LD0611235390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Nov 90

["Edited version" of a news conference by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar in Bratislava on 6 November; from the "Radiojournal Extra" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed listeners, we already conveyed to you the basic report on today's deliberations of the Slovak Government. Many important pronouncements and interesting thoughts were heard, however, at the regular news briefing during the lunch interval. Premier Vladimir Meciar was virtually snowed under with numerous questions. On this occasion, as on other occaisons, he did not avoid answering a single one of them. We now present to you an edited verion of this news conference. Correspondent Alica Bielikova asks questions of him on behalf of Radiojournal.

[Bielikova] Mr. Pithart said yesterday that radio and television are among the issues that were postponed by your session. He also said that this issue does not fall directly under the law on the division of powers. What is your opinion?

[Meciar] It does not fall under the law on the division of powers, which is a constitutional law. There are laws which directly tackle these issues, but it has not been postponed by being filed away. What will happen is that around 25 [November] all three of us will meet again. Television and radio directors, the CTK, and some representatives of the press and film will be present. We will discuss once again the entire sphere of relations. We must finish hammering it out, because we have dropped nothing from our proposals. Thus, the situation remains unclear. The Slovak Government still maintains its standpoint, and it will have to be hammered out through a consensus of all three sides.

The problem is that we are unable to reach an agreement on the way in which the Ministry of Communication will deal, for example, with the wavelengths and frequencies at its disposal. We did not accept the variant submitted to us at the talks yesterday. Another problem is that the inital draft provided for right of access to radio and television to an appropriate extent. They see this as unspecific. They either want to have unconditional right of entry or their own broadcasting channels, which they want to run in a way which would give them influence over the mass media. Thus we must take a cheaper option, an option we can afford, and an option which will be more effective for us.

[Bielikova] If you permit me, I would like to ask another question in this connection. The lack of information, or the insufficient information, of citizens has been much discussed lately. We, the journalists, however, have lately been encountering closed doors to a greater extent.

[Meciar] As you know, my doors were closed for two days, and I was not even in. But on other occasions the doors are quite wide open. We held talks yesterday, and today we have a meeting with you. I personally do not close my doors to you. There are issues which take time to ripen. One is not always willing to discuss them, and sometimes it is risky to outline one's position on a matter which has not ripened.

[Bielikova] Mr. Premier, you spoke a lot about this yesterday, but I would still like to ask once again. These issues of power division, or the outlining of a new demarcation line of the federation, were in fact once labelled by you as a political process. We have now reached the end of a certain stage. How happy are you today with this political process?

[Meciar] We had to make compromises. I did not want 101 percent, but if I am to express it numerically, it is definitely over 90 percent. I thought it would be good if it was 75 percent; therefore, this result can be seen as a success.

I think that after settling these relations in the government, the Slovak and the Czech National Councils and then the Federal Assembly have to be dealt with. Once these relations are settled, we —both Czechs and Slovaks—could stop politicizing. (?All three of us), however, should start doing something (?useful) after 1 January, because by then nothing will be in our way and we will have only what we ourselves create. We even inserted into the proposal that the transfer of money between the republics by any redistribution process is not permitted. This means that next time, as there will be no resources, there will be nothing to redistribute, and each of us should manage on its own. Should the Slovak or Czech Republic need help, it can be provided only in the form of a loan, by joint investment, or through a direct investment on the territory of the other republic. There are and will be no other forms, and we do not want them, either; neither of us wanted them. At the end, therefore, when we parted with Pithart, Premier Calfa looked happy that he had gotten rid of some of his problems, as some of the enterprises that will come under our jurisdiction are not in good shape. We said that if we take a loss, we will divide it between us. Essentially, the atmosphere is quite optimistic that the management should be better, more approachable, more effective, and more functional.

[Unidentified reporter] The fact that you are here, and that we can speak to you, shows quite clearly that the crisis in the Slovak Government has been averted. Some fundamental objections of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] against Public Against Violence [VPN], however, indicate that tension in the coalition can or will continue. Do you know of a medicine which will ease this tension?

[Meciar] Yes, I do. Very intense and conscientious work. Stop considering whether our actions impress the electorate at the moment. Stop considering whether there is one more or less of (word indistinct,) because not all ministers in the government work in the same way. (?We are not to watch who is from which party), but must consider whether we will throw all our might into the economy after 1 January, or whether we will do something else.

The question of coalition is today very fragile. I cannot tell you whether it is solved today or whether there is a truce. This will be shown only by time, and by the ambitions of the leaders of the individual political movements, which can sometimes go in directions where their members do not want to follow.

[Reporter] What is your opinion on the views of the KDH about the constitutional setup, particularly in connection with the entrance of Slovakia into the European Community, into Europe?

[Meciar] I am not a spokesman for the KDH; I am not its official. Nothing prevents you from asking them what they mean by it. Our view is clear: We have said that we want to have in Slovakia the possibility to decide about everything that is connected with our life. We want to preserve the common state in which we will enter Europe together.

It must also be understood that some Czech groups say: So what is it, a sort of conditional coexistence? The involvement in the all-European process will take several years. This means we will be accepted first to one body, then to a second, then to the third—and when we are to sit on those two chairs? Should it be already next year, when we attend some commissions? Or a few years later, when we will be completely integrated? What form will we then take? This makes our partners feel uncertain. How should they consider us? For example, proposals that Slovak sovereignty should be proclaimed precociously [predcasne] are also matters that complicate our life, and make our political life more difficult. Now for external factors: those outside say it is your problem; you will deal with it as you think fit; we are not going to interfere—but they do not want to cooperate with us. This is where we lose out.

We, therefore, have to consider our internal situation from a different point of view. Every time a house is going to collapse, when there is some dissatisfaction, there is a risk of it collapsing on those who are there; therefore, people we would like to welcome here do not come very willingly. For example, today we held commercial talks in the possible future development of [word indistinct] Bratislava. The government agreed to talks with the General Motors firm. We have approached the firm; no final contracts have been concluded, but we have some promises, and there will be a sort of preliminary agreement signed today.

We have to think today about how to get these people to our country, and with their help try to make the Slovak economy healthier, and not put our energy into quarrels about who is a better lover of his nation, who is prettier, who is more clever, and who the citizens should vote for. Let them vote for whomever, but the interest of the country is superior to the interest of everybody who is involved in politics today, including myself.

[Reporter] Mr. Premier, the other feature of the coalition was the post of the interior minister. As we know, it should be held by the KDH. In the view of many of our readers, however, it should be held by an unaffialiated person. Nothing, however, could be done in this matter. I also hold the view that this should be the case—that this post should not be held by a member of a party.

[Meciar] I (?will say) this, so that we do not again (?pin) everything on the interior minister. I (?had) more proposals concerning the KDH, but the situation in the Interior Ministry was worst of all, because its everyday activity was reaching the point of explosion. I am convinced that this post should be held by an unaffiliated person. As the agreement stands, the KDH will propose this person, but the selection will be carried out by a commission. I am a member of this commission, too. The point is that it should be a person who would put his service to the state and public above his service to the leadership, or to the top leadership of a party.

[Reporter] Is a party member, in fact, capable of holding this very general and important post?

[Meciar] Minister Andras formally withdrew his membership in the KDH [words indistinct].

[Reporter] I would like to add to the question concerning the meeting in Prague yesterday. You said, among other things, that a realistic possibility for an agreement exists. A tangible form for this agreement has already been shaped. Does this form conform with, identify with, or differ from your ideas in Trencianske Teplice and Piestany?

[Meciar] No, not at all. We strictly observed what was agreed upon in Trencianske Teplice and Piestany. When we arrived the last time for talks with the federal bodies—which said that our stances were unacceptable—we returned to some matters, in shaping up the subject of talks, as far back as to Trencianske Teplice. Thus, we did not suggest this as a dogma. It is possible to back down on this; it is possible to reach another form or agreement. The existing agreement, therefore, is in keeping with what was agreed to, both in Teplice and Piestany.

For example, the Federal Government should lose the right to veto the resolutions of republican councils. The Slovak National Council has gained the right to amend by its own laws its own standing and the structure of central bodies; Slovakia did not have this right before. Property relations are being dealt with. It is recognized that the state assets belong to three subjects—to the republics—and not to the federation, as was previously the case. We must specify, or rather earmark, what will belong to a respective republic, what will belong to the federation, and which spheres will be subsidized. We have, for example, adopted a principle which we will contribute to financing levies proportionately, according to the numbers of inhabitants, and not according to the efficiency of the economy. We had our own reasons for adopting this standpoint on this for 1991. It is disadvantageous for us, but we still adopted it, as it will be compensated by something else.

This process was quite complex. The governments are able to publish their ideas. On Thursday we will submit it to the Slovak National Council, so that it can start processing it in the committees. By 20 [November] the Slovak and the Czech National Councils should complete this process and produce their standpoints.

Slovak Premier Meciar Gives Television Address

LD0411211590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] We begin by describing today's television address by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar. He spoke primarily about the relatively complicated situation in recent days, marked by a threat of the government coalition breaking up. He said that representatives of Public Against Violence [VPN], the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Democratic Party [DS] finally reached an agreement at joint talks, and the coalition survived. One of the agreements is that the KDH will nominate a new candidate for the office of interior minister, but a commission will make the decision on whether or not to accept him. The participating parties also agreed that they would end aggressive propaganda against one another, and would mutually adjust the rules for their own contact and joint talks in such a way that serious upheavals, following every change in the government, would be prevented. In this connection, Meciar emphasized that it is necessary to maintain better contacts, not just within the coalition, but with all political parties and movements.

On the subject of his conflict with formner Interior Minister Anton Andras, the premier said that it was, above all, a fight between two views on the concept of state administration and the system of management—in which Mr. Andras represented a certain extreme—generally connecting state life with that of the party.

The Slovak premier also spoke about the recent meeting in Slavkov, near Brno. The principal question discussed at these meetings was the future of the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks. In this context, the Slovak side expressed itself clearly in favor of the coexistence of the two nations. An overwhelming majority of the Slovaks wish to preserve our common state, but at the same time they want the Slovak Government and Slovak National Council to be able to have a significant amount of input on matters concerning social and economic life in Slovakia.

At the end of today's television address Vladimir Meciar thanked all the citizens for their support over the course of the last two difficult weeks.

Meciar Interviewed on Meeting With Havel

AU0511170290 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "The President's 'Bratislava' Optimism"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The lunch given by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar in the CSFR president's honor [in Bratislava on 31 October] was originally scheduled to last one hour but took more than two hours. Meciar briefed journalists on the content of the unplanned talks conducted in its course: "Social conversation quickly turned into working talks concerning all present relevant problems. I assess the outcome of these talks very positively as we essentially agreed on everything. We considered in great detail the present domestic political situation in Czechoslovakia with special emphasis on Slovakia. Compared to numerous Czech politicians, the president has one specific characteristic. While many Czech politicians are perfectly familiar with the facts about Slovakia, only few of them understand its unique features. He, on the other hand, knows them very well and is very sensitive to working his way through to them.

Asked whether the president's visit, his public pronouncements, and the informal authority he commands helped to calm the passions of the last few tempestuous days, V. Meciar said, among other things: "The passions have essentially subsided on their own, except for some attempts [of Slovak nationalists] to enlist the support of secondary and university students. Positive factors are gradually beginning to prevail."

Meciar, Minister Comment on Supply Situation

AU0411174990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 31 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Alena Melicharkova, Klara Grosmanova report: "We Have Everything, but...."]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—As has become a tradition, Premier Meciar answered journalists' questions after yesterday's session of the Slovak Republic Government. The first question concerned supplies to the market in winter, including the Christmas period, and the potential threat to the market by an invasion of "tourists" from the USSR.

According to Premier Meciar, the government did not assess the preparations for the December and Christmas market in a very positive way at its session yesterday. The minister of trade has, however, provided a guarantee that there will be enough food. On the other hand, he does not provide any guarantees regarding supplies of clothing and consumer goods. The trade department has asked for additional credit resources from the government and the Ministry of Finance, while there is merchandise in the warehouses which is not being turned over. The government, therefore, assigned to the minister the task of seeking new sources of commercial activity and making sure that there are goods on the market.

As to the expected invasion by Soviet tourists [following the liberalization of Soviet travel regulations as of 1 November], the premier said that it will not break out overnight. It will be a process which, as can be expected, will be accompanied by administrative, transportation, and organizational problems that are endemic to the Soviet system. The government is working on specific cooperation measures with other states. This question should also figure in CSFR Premier Marian Calfa's talks in Moscow. After his return, the [republican and federal] premiers are to meet to give final shape to the measures under preparation. "It is our desire to prevent a large-scale influx of these tourists and not to allow extended stays by larger groups on our territory," the Slovak premier stressed. [passage omitted]

After the government session, Jozef Chren, Slovak minister of trade and tourism, that this year's volume of merchandise sales has been 11 percent higher than last year, while the volume of production has declined three to four percent. There is shortage of clothing for children and babies (Czech factories orient their production at exports) as well as shoes for children. As far as industrial merchandise is concerned, there is shortage of freezers. [passage omitted] The shortage of washing machines has been caused by breakdowns in production. [passage omitted] The shopping fever has emptied the shelves of salt, oil, and flour, but deliveries of sugar from the new harvest will start soon, J. Chren said.

CPSL Supports Decentralization, Marx Classics

LD0611173290 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 6 (CTK)—Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] Chairman Peter Weiss told journalists today that the party regards cooperation with left-wing parties abroad as a priority. He mentioned working contacts with the Soviet Communist Party, the Polish Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Socialism Party in Germany as well as contacts with representaives of the Austrian Socialist Party and his invitation to the L'Unita festival by the Italian Communist party as such cooperation. Weiss was commenting on the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia last weekend and was especially satisfied with the "end to centralism" there which had determined party policy in the past.

At the congress the party accepted the relatively autonomous organizations in the two republics, with the 24-member Federal Council as a state-wide body. Weiss described it as a model of relations between the Czechs and Slovaks. Asked how far the Communist Party of Slovakia, which now calls itself also the Democratic Left Party, would rely on the classics of Marxism-Leninism Weiss said what is good should not be rejected when Marx is still regarded as a major philosopher in the world.

Infighting Apparent in Slovak National Party

AU0411181590

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 31 October on page 13 reprints a 400-word interview with Anton Hrnko, deputy to the Slovak National Council for the Slovak National Party [SNS], published by the 30 October issue of SLOVENSKY DENNIK, daily of the Christian Democratic Movement. In the interview, Hrnko outlines the motives that prompted a group of deputies for the SNS to ask for the resignation of SNS Chairman Vitazoslav Moric. On the same page, NARODNA OBRODA publishes a 600-word transcript, which Slovak Radio broadcast on 29 October, of a discussion with several members of the SNS leadership. The discussion concerned the internal situation in the SNS.

In the interview reprinted from SLOVENSKY DENNIK, Hrnko says that a group of SNS deputies asked Vitazoslav Moric to resign from the post of party chairman "if he cares about the reputation of the SNS and its presentation on the Slovak political scene." This step was motivated by "dissatisfaction with his incompetent leadership, which he confirmed by his signature under a statement calling for overthrowing the constitutional order in Slovakia, such as including us." In an apparent allusion to Moric's policy, Hrnko says that "the SNS's aim must be to unite the nation, rather than divide it" and that it must support solutions to all disputed issues that are in harmony with the Constitution. Hrnko adds that the SNS should pursue a uniform political line and criticizes the fact that "some party representatives change their pronouncements as it suits them" and "pander to momentary moods in society." Asked whether he would accept the post of SNS chairman, Hrnko says that he has no such ambitions and that he will subordinate himself to "any SNS leadership that is competent and adheres to the party line."

The NARODNA OBRODA transcript of the Slovak Radio program contains the following exchange between Anton Hrnko and Vitazoslav Moric:

"[Moderator] We confronted Deputy Hrnko with the statement of Mr. Moric that he, Hrnko, is not and has never been an SNS member. Deputy Hrnko reacted as follows:

"[Hrnko] This is one of the typical moves of Mr. Moric. When he runs out of arguments, he starts to attack people. This claim is made by a person who joined the SNS long after me. Mr. Moric also reproaches me for my communist past. I have never made any secret of having been a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. I spoke about it at the first SNS Assembly as well as at the SNS Assembly in Kosice. I do not want to become personal, but I have been reproached for this by a person who had himself tried three times to become member of the Communist Party and had always been turned down, because even for the Communist Party he was not moral enough. I will not comment on this issue any more.

"[Moric] I insist on what I said. The Slovak nation will not argue about whether Mr. Hrnko is or is not an SNS member. We avail ourselves of evidence, and we can prove it quite clearly. He has never been an SNS member. As for my joining the party, I really do not know how one can try to become a party member. I never strove for it. I know that when they proposed me for a management post and when two or three people were to be admitted, I was always in the third or fourth place. I had been proposed about twice but, as I say, I was always at the next place, behind those who were admitted. I do not want to dwell on this issue any longer, it really is ridiculous. It is beginning to make me feel sick...."

The NARODNA OBRODA transcript of the radio program also quotes Jozef Filip, deputy to the Slovak National Council for the SNS, as saying that Slovak National Council deputies for the SNS will "insist" on the resignation of Moric because of his "recurrent irresponsible statements." Filip says: "I do not see any other solution. Other deputies and I would otherwise be forced to leave the party."

Slovak Nationalists Demonstrate Against Havel

AU0511204190 Prague PRACE in Czech 1 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "An Honorary Doctorate From Comenius University"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[passage omitted] The demonstrators who gathered yesterday in front of the Slovak National Theater where the president was to attend a performance of Verdi's Requiem did not represent the Slovak nation very well. There were about 300 of them, plus two Slovak flags and a few streamers. They apparently felt that they had to compensate for the low turnout with noise. Before the expected cultural experience Vaclav Havel and his entourage were not only able to read the slogans "Down with the CSFR" and "Independent Slovakia" but also hear chanting of "New aristocracy," "Fascists," "Traitors of the nation," "Enough of Prague and the Public Against Violence movement," etc. The demonstration did not seem to be officially organized by anyone. The participants did, however, express support for the Slovak National Heritage Foundation in their slogans. A few individuals even wanted to interrupt the performance; however, the policemen present talked them out of it.

Democracy Said Facing Tough Test in Slovakia

AU0311202090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Oct 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "We Need Levelheadedness"]

[Text] Nationalist opposition in Slovakia is driving events toward a situation in which the government and parliament would have to capitulate to its demands if they want to avoid a confrontation in which the means of authority will be utilized. Obviously, Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak Nationalist Party [SNS], eliminates the possibility of any kind of development in which rising tension could lead to such a clash. He pays absolutely no attention to the views of the "silent majority" of Slovaks who give precedence to the parliamentary method of dealing with problems over the so-called democratic meetings.

Thoughtful citizens are distinctly aware of the nationalists' intolerance, and they regard their claims that they speak on behalf of the entire Slovak nation as a sign of a new kind of totalitarianism. It is possible to conduct a public discussion in the press, radio, and television about the legal statute on the Slovak language. The leaders of the Slovak National Party may make this issue the key point of their program in future parliamentary elections. The situation cannot be considered democratic, however, if the problem surrounding the legalization of the national language becomes a pretext for a demagogic campaign. The attacks being made against Slovaks who do not feel the need to compensate for their national inferiority complex to the detriment of ethnic minorities cannot be qualified in any other way.

More diligent observers of the situation have noticed that 12 Communist Party of Slovakia deputies—more than half this party's deputies in the Slovak parliament—voted with SNS deputies in the Slovak National Council against the approval of the compromise version of the language law. This valuable agreement will not do the reputation of either party any good; it will only serve those who claim that the SNS was founded under the patronage of the so-called old structures.

Our incipient democracy will soon undergo a difficult test. It is hardly possible to doubt that the government will act with the support of parliament and with the knowledge that it is based upon a majority from voters. The nationalist opposition is again relying on the provoked psychosis of the so-called national threat to Slovaks from the Hungarian minority. Rational arguments carry no weight with its representatives and, therefore, there is not much chance that a compromise will be found as a way out of this complicated situation.

Despite this, cool heads may be found in the SNS leadership which could halt the escalation in passions. The nationalists have demonstrated that they have some influence on the balance of political scales, but they should not overestimate it. In this regard, the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation], which is a universal organization for all Slovaks regardless of their political persuasion, could play a positive role. When decisions are being made on fateful issues affecting a nation in crisis, then prestigious points of view are irrelevant for every patriot.

Carnogursky, Christian Democrats Meet in Kosice

LD0311230290 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 3 (CTK)—Chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Jan Carnogursky said at the second KDH congress in Kosice, east Slovakia, today that the national question is now more important for Slovakia than foreign investments, the economic reform, and integration into international organizations.

However, KDH thinks sudden independence of Slovakia, the smaller of the two constituent republics of Czechoslovakia, is not possible. It would not be in its interest. The only road for Slovakia leads through gradual expansion of the powers of national bodies, Carnogursky said. KDH has been admitted to the European Democratic Union and develops contacts with European Christian parties. It is represented on the federal government (Deputy Premier Jozef Miklosko) and is one of the three coalition partners in the Slovak government (together with the Public Against Violence VPN, and the Democratic Party). It emerged as the second strongest party in Slovakia, after VPN, from the June 9 parliamentary elections in which it won 19.2 per cent votes.

The delegates also discussed the enactment in October of the law making the Slovak language into an official and state one, and allowing ethnic nationalities to use their mother tongues in official contacts. The law drew strong opposition from Matica Slovenska, a cultural organization which insisted on "Slovak without exception" and the nationalist-oriented Slovak National Party (SNS).

The congress described the law as democratic and in tune with norms of international law. It approved a statement proposing that the presidium of the Slovak National Council (parliament) to set up a parliamentary commission which would follow the application of the law.

The congress of the Christian Democratic Movement also discussed proposals on how to tackle some topical sociopolitical problems. The movement favours consistent cushioning of the impacts of the coming price deregulation on socially weaker strata, requalification and working out and implementing of an ecological program.

The movement demands that Slovaks undergo military service in Slovakia and is for restitution of property to the church and introduction of religion lessons as an optional subject but also within the normal educational process.

KDH supports completion of the Danube water dam at Gabcikovo-Nagymaros if the recommendations of an international expert group are fulfilled. The project has drawn strong opposition especially from ecological reasons and the Hungarian side has stopped building work at Nagymaros.

The movement wants the right of the Slovak nation to self-determination and to withdrawal from the federation if it does not meet its notions and demands to be incorporated in the new Slovak constitution which should be worked out together with the constitutions of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic by June 1992 when the election term of the present legislative bodies ends. [sentence as received]

According to KDH, Slovak's entry into an integrated Europe as a full-fledged nation requires, inter alia, that it has its own system of taxation, a bank of issue and a foreign ministry. In the financial questions, the movement differs with federal finance minister Vaclav Klaus who believes that they should be solved on the federal level.

The Christian Democratic Movement was formed in Slovakia shortly after the November 1989 revolution. Its constituent congress was held on February 17, 1990.

KDH's Nationalist Program Discussed

LD0311231790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Report on interview with First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky by editor Bohus Goetzi in Kosice on 3 November]

[Excerpts] Representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] have been holding a Slovak national-level congress in Kosice since this morning. We no go over to our editor Bohus Goetzi in Kosice for more details.

[Goetzi] Good evening from Kosice. The KDH is the force that will lead Slovakia to prosperity and into Europe—that is how the proceedings of the 1,000 or so delegates at the congress so far could be summed up. So far, delegates have heard a report on the activity of the KDH leadership. [passage omitted]

During the first recess, an improvised news briefing was held by former Interior [Minister] Anton Andras, who only described the causes of his conflict with the premier and the way it was resolved. In the debate on the leadership's activity, which was calm and general in tone, two voices called for the movement to adopt a more marked nationalist program. Consequently, during the lunch recess, shortly after 1300, I asked Jan Carnogursky for his view of the more emphatic nationalist program which had been called for, and which he, too, stressed in his speech.

[Begin recording] [Carnogursky] These voices first of all express a certain degree of dissatisfaction at the KDH's nationalist program, which is not clear enough, in the sence that our idea that Slovakia should take part in the future European integration as an independent entity is too distant, too abstract, and not specific enough for the man in the street. On the other hand, it is not very clear how we should set about modifying our nationalist program because, for example not even the Slovak National Party, as far as I know, has set out a completely clear program in this respect. That is one thing. So, above all, this is a call for discussion on the framework of our KDH. Secondly, the conditions and possibilities for our integration into Europe depend not only on us, but on Europe, too. For that reason, therefore, our idea has not been completely worked out in detail.

[Goetzi] A voice was also heard in the discussion here calling for a party to be set up, rather than a movement. What is your view of that?

[Carnogursky] Yes, this is a problem which we have faced since our movement began. So far, our stand is that we want to remain a relatively loose movement, and should remain so, because the crystallization of views on the different political issues in our movement has not progressed far enough to allow us to say that we are a relatively disciplined party with a precisely defined program and that anything outside that program is not part of the party. We prefer to remain a relatively loose movement, which provides greater scope for internal discussion. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Goetzi] As I speak, the debate on the situation is just drawing to an end. Then, a vote will be taken on its final wording. Next, a list of candidates for chairman and central secretary will be drawn up, and the ballot itself will be conducted. Because I cannot tell you the names yet, we will have more details in subsequent news bulletins.

KDH Requests Recognition of Slovak Sovereignty

LD0411155490 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 4 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Movement today called for the recognition of Slovakia's full sovereignty, including the system of taxation, bank of issue and customs, and the right to self-determination, including the right to withdraw from the Czechoslovak Federation.

This is said in a resolution adopted in conclusion of the two-day 2nd congress of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) in Kosice, East Slovakia. KDH is one of the three government coalition parties (together with the Public Against Violence-VPN and the Democratic Party), and the second strongest party in Slovakia, after VPN, after the June elections in which it won 19.2 per cent of votes. It is also represented on the federal government [level]—Deputy Premier Jozef Miklosko.

The movement's views on taxes, customs and other financial questions the movement differs with Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus who believes that they should be solved on the federal level. [sentence as received]

The congress re-elected by a secret vote Jan Carnogursky, Slovak deputy premier, chairman of the movement. Anton Andras, Slovak interior minister until November 2 when he resigned, was elected deputy chairman. Andras' resignation had been asked by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar who accused him of incompetence and who said that if Andras does not leave his post, he himself will quit as premier.

Jan Petrik was re-elected the party's secretary general.

The resolution adopted at the congress enjoins the leadership to better analyze the expected impact of price decontrol (to start on January 1, 1991) on the population with emphasis on families having several children, ill people and pensioners.

The resolution also stresses the need to pay attention to problems accompanying conversion of production in former military equipment producing enterprises and threats of production decreases in branch factories of Czech enterprises in Slovakia.

Slovak Economic, Social Council Established

AU0411191290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Accord"]

[Text] "This is a historical moment because such an agreement has never been reached before," said Premier Vladimir Meciar prior to the adoption of a document by the Confederation of Slovak Trade Unions [KOZ], the Council of Slovak Entrepreneurial Unions and Associations, and the Slovak Government. The agreement, which establishes the Slovak Republic Council for Economic and Social Accord, was signed by Slovak Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondrus, Zoltan Berghauer on behalf of the entrepreneurs, and Ladislav Polka on behalf of KOZ. The council's statute states that it is a tripartite, initiative, arbitrational, and consultative organ which will deal with issues concerning employment, labor-related legal relations, social security, and wages policy.

Czech Subsidies for Slovak Economy Noted

AU0311180690

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 31 October on page 1 carries a 900-word Karel Kriz commentary entitled "Let Us Say It Aloud." The commentary responds to the "half-truths and outright misinformation" being spread by a "considerable part of the Slovak press" about "the Slovak economy having to pay for the system of a single federal economy."

Kriz says that "gigantic resources have been flowing to Slovakia from the Czech lands throughout the postwar period." Although he admits that this "redistribution process" has declined in volume since its peak in the seventies, "it has not ended even after 17 November [1989]. Every hour almost one million korunas flows to Slovakia from Bohemia and Moravia, 20 million korunas a day."

Kriz argues that, unlike all other European countries with similar differences of economic levels [Yugoslavia, Italy, or Spain], Czechoslovakia has in the last 40 years closed the gap between the once "poor and economically backward" Slovakia and the Czech lands. This is because the average rate of investments in Slovakia has been 33 percent higher than in the Czech lands. As a result, the Slovak industry's provision with basic assets [plant and equipment] is five-percent higher than in Bohemia and Moravia. In spite of that, according to Kriz, per capita national income in the Czech lands continues to be higher than in Slovakia by 15 percent, while average wages are nearly balanced.

Kriz believes that, once the "flow of subsidies" from the Czech Republic to Slovakia ends, it will become apparent that Slovakia "has been living beyond its means, i.e. better than warranted by its economic performance." He predicts that in competitive market conditions this will be reflected in a higher rate of unemployment and a slower rate of economic growth in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic. He fears, however, that this development will "add grist to the mill of [Slovak] nationalism."

NATO Official on Eastern European Countries

AU0711085090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Simon Lunn, deputy general secretary of the NATO's North Atlantic Council, by Zoltan Szalai in Budapest on 2 November: "We Must Reach a Consensus With the Member States"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] At an exchange of views held in Budapest on 2 November, Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, and Simon Lunn differed on whether Hungary's and other Eastern European countries' observer status in the political bodies of NATO can be placed on the agenda. In our interviews following the meeting, we tried to receive some answers about the background of this difference of views.

[Szalai] Please give us a few details about the activity of the North Atlantic Council.

[Lunn] The North Atlantic Council is the NATO parliament that includes representatives of all the 16 member states. We meet twice a year to discuss issues of common interest. During these meetings, the parliamentary deputies deal not only with security issues but also with environmental protection, economic, and political problems. We have close contacts with the NATO, but we are independent from both the federation and the individual governments. Thus, to a certain extent, we are more flexible, and our contacts with the newly elected Eastern European parliament prove this.

[Szalai] In your lecture, you came up with new ideas in connection with the future of the NATO, at least new ideas for us....

[Lunn] In the future, the NATO will fulfill a multilateral task. On the one hand, it will maintain its role as a forum in which the member countries regularly meet and discuss their security policy concepts. On the other hand, the organization will continue to guarantee its members' military defense. Although the security situation in Europe has changed considerably, no country can give up its defense requirements. NATO is a collective security system, and it also becomes part of stability at a time when everything else is changing rapidly. It is too early to speak about Eastern European countries joining NATO; however, we can help these countries in many other ways—perhaps through the European Community—to develop their economy and not to feel alone in case of a possible danger.

[Szalai] Why do you consider the observer status of Eastern European countries to be something premature?

[Lunn] Not every member country would accept the proposal on the status of observer. We must find a consensus. As a first step, the Eastern European countries, including Hungary, could send ambassadors to NATO to receive information about our activity. These countries could then join some of our bodies. At the moment, however, I think that many countries would vote against observer status. I, of course, am not the competent person in this. On a parliamentary level, Hungary probably could participate in our activity, but the status is still an open question. Our parliamentary contacts will develop quickly, but the development of contacts on a governmental level will be slower.

[Szalai] Is there still a Soviet threat?

[Lunn] Both military and political conditions have to be considered in forming our strategies. Moscow has considerable military forces, and, in the interest of our own security, we must take into consideration a possible change in the Soviet balance of political forces. We must coordinate our strategic concepts with our policy, because we cannot threaten with one hand and extend a friendly right hand with our other hand.

Horn on Possible NATO Membership

AU0711092190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, by Zoltan Laczik in Budapest on 2 November: "There Are Bureaucrats Not Only in the Warsaw Pact"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] At an exchange of views held in Budapest on 2 November, Gyula Horn and Simon Lunn differed on whether Hungary's and other Eastern European countries' observer status in the political bodies of NATO can be placed on the agenda at all. In our interviews following the meeting, we tried to receive some answers about the background of this difference of views.

[Laczik] In February, you made a memorable statement about the possibility of joining the NATO political organizations. Has the time that passed confirmed or changed your idea?

[Horn] Several people tried to misinterpret my announcement at the time. What I said was that we should develop close relations with the NATO political organizations, with possible membership. In my opinion, life has since confirmed all this because the process of the Warsaw Pact disintegration has accelerated. I do not think we should disband the Warsaw Pact immediately, but I think it is hardly justified to maintain this organization beyond 1992. We should reach an agreement to break up the Warsaw Pact by common decision, and not by the request of one or two countries, particularly not by the request of Hungary alone. This is important for national security reasons and also from the viewpoint of our relations with the other member countries. In the meantime, we must develop a new alliance system to replace the Warsaw Pact. We need bilateral agreements, program coordination, and coordination of various concepts. The changes that have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe only confirm the timeliness of developing our contacts with the NATO. This does not mean that we will be NATO members within one or two years.

[Laczik] One can, however, see a certain caution in this matter on the part of the other side. Mr. Lunn has just announced that even the observer status is premature.

[Horn] All I can say to this is that there are bureaucrats in NATO as well as in the Warsaw Pact. We have had contacts with NATO's various political bodies for three years. We have already reached a state in which we no longer hold only exchanges of views, but we also organize joint meetings with serious debates, and we have already learned a lot of the activity of these bodies. Only Hungary has reached this state so far.

[Laczik] Excuse me for interrupting you, but I would like to know what you mean when you say "we?" In February, you were the foreign minister, but now you are the head of an opposition party and head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of our National Assembly.

[Horn] I mean all Hungarians when I use the word "we." It makes no difference to me whether I work as an opposition representative, committee chairman, or foreign minister because, in my opinion, one should decide on these matters only on the basis of a national consensus. The government cannot make important foreign policy steps which contradict the opinion of the opposition parties because this would create a serious situation sooner or later. Therefore, I repeat, I mean we Hungarians. Hungarians have contacts with various NATO organizations. A vote was held in November 1988, when I was the first among the Warsaw Pact representatives to be invited to a NATO meeting, and there were opposing opinions as well. Opposing opinions will continue to exist, of course, but most people think that it was correct to establish contacts with Hungary. The leaders of the individual member countries, rather than the general secretariat, will eventually decide on the relations with the Warsaw Pact countries.

[Laczik] Is there any degree of consensus among the Hungarian parliamentary parties on the issue of our relations with the NATO?

[Horn] In my opinion, there is no serious debate on this, and we can almost speak of a full consensus.

Prime Minister Interviewed on Europe, Gulf Crisis

LD0611210790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by unidentified correspondent on 6 November; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Hungarian flag was hoisted in Strasbourg and the Hungarian anthem was played. Hungary once again belongs to Europe.

[Antall] It is extremely significant that Hungary is the first of the former communist countries to achieve this. We also talked about this on Sunday [4 November], when the foreign ministers and deputy foreign ministers of the six countries were here in Hungary, and said that until their admission, in a certain sense, we also wish to become the advocate of this [Eastern European] region.

[Correspondent] The events of the past months, but mainly of the last weeks, made a lot of people ask the question: Is it possible that this government is ready for transformation?

[Antall] Change there will be. The change, however, should not be expected to be a transformation entailing everyone's dismissal. There will be a change, as I said earlier and we shall draw the consequences precisely. I am well aware of my responsibility and my tasks, as I always have been.

[Correspondent] Tamas Katona, state secretary for foreign affairs, met today with the Saudi foreign minister, which is both strange and hopeful for us because our countries do not have diplomatic relations. What can this mean for us in connection with the oil crisis, especially considering that we had very serious negotiations with Kuwait prior to the Gulf crisis?

[Antall] The diplomatic relations regarding the future is of enormous significance. Incidentally, it is a well-known fact that the Kuwaiti Government in exile and the leading Kuwaiti circles still belong to the world's most significant financial powers. This means that this could be an extremely advantageous relationship for Hungary.

I would, however, also like to emphasize that we can also handle the Soviet relations with positive results. In Hungarian-Soviet relations there is no obstacle or negative phenomena, although this is often heard in the Hungarian press on behalf of certain critics. It is simply not worth talking about it in this context. There is a clear political argument here with questions. They know it full well and so do we—we are in a correct negotiation and we are going to solve these questions.

I do not, however, want to paint a rosy picture. I believe that both the meeting with the Saudi and the Kuwaiti partners and also the relations with the Soviet Union give us reason to hope that in the long run we shall be able to ease our situation. At this very moment, when the Middle East is a crisis zone and the Soviet Union is a crisis center because of the nationality, social, and economic issues, what we can do and how fast we can achieve results on the oil question is another matter. We are taking measures to resolve the oil situation in both the foreign and domestic economic spheres. I would like to reassure the country that we are going to continue governing resolutely after the consequences of our actions become apparent.

[Correspondent] Although the events of the past weeks did not cause people to smile, even earlier many people in this country used to say that the prime minister never smiles and never looks straight in the eye of a journalist; rather, he sits on a high horse.

[Antall] Because I think I always look people in the eye, this could only have been a symbolic criticism and I always look in the eye of a journalist. Regarding smiling, there are people who smile more and those who smile less. I said when we won the elections and the government was formed that I will smile when I really feel that we have something to smile about. Believe me, I would rather smile, but I dealt with difficult and hard times. These were hard times and hard times are still to come, but I am certain that we can create everything only with the Hungarian people and with the understanding of the Hungarian people. The Hungarian people must believe that we have to work together in this difficult situation.

Foreign Ministry Official on Arms Reduction Talks

AU0711085890 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 5 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with David Meiszter, deputy state secretary of the Foreign Ministry, by Katalin Decsi in Budapest on 3 November 1990: "Hungarian Interests Have Not Suffered"]

[Text] [Decsi] What are the contents of the document that has just been signed?

[Meiszter] This agreement forms part of the treaty formulated in Vienna on the reduction of conventional forces, a treaty which limits the armed forces that can be maintained in Europe in five different categories (combat aircraft, attack helicopters, tanks, armoured carriers, and artillery.) First, the delegates decided on the forces that would remain on the entire area of our continent after the completion of reductions. Then, having divided this figure by two, they allotted two equal amounts to the groups of six and 16 states, respectively. The next task was for each group of states to divide the given amount among themselves. In other words, they established the maximum national quota for each country.

We succeeded in reaching an agreement after long negotiations, so we have now reached the stage where we could sign the agreement that would set these quotas. That will form part of the great Vienna treaty.

[Decsi] Did German unification influence the negotiations?

[Meiszter] Of course it influenced the negotiations because when we divided the European limit into two parts, the GDR was still an independent state. At the time, we still thought that the amount allotted to seven countries would be distributed in seven parts. After German unification, however, the so-called sub-limit allotted to this part of Europe was divided into six parts.

[Decsi] The agreement was originally made by two military blocs.

[Meiszter] I would say that when we began our work, we were still dealing with NATO-Warsaw Pact negotiations; however, they soon continued between 23 (or 22) independent states. It was the Hungarian delegation who first pointed out that this agreement would only be durable if we also took national elements into account. Only then could we expect national parliaments to also accept the agreement; indeed, no body would sanction a collective pledge of duties unless it saw the clear outline of its own duties featured in the document. Thus, the negotiations that had begun as a dialogue between two blocs turned into an exchange of views between sovereign states.

[Decsi] What would happen if the Warsaw Pact were dissolved?

[Meiszter] Nothing would happen, given that the treaty determines the duties of 22 states. After the negotiations, we decided that the structure that had already been established should not be changed, because that would mean returning to square one. Thus, the division into two groups of states remained, and that division happens to correspond to the NATO and Warsaw Pact lineup.

[Decsi] The treaty is going to be signed in Paris. What will happen after that?

[Meiszter] The negotiation process will continue after the summit because there are still several issues to be discussed.

[Decsi] Some people believe that "we sold our national security in Vienna."

[Meiszter] The negotiations were delicate because the security interests of all the countries were at stake; therefore, we treated everything that was said in Vienna with great discretion. I think that the Hungarian delegation acted in a gentlemanly way until the very end; we refused to talk in public about any issues which could have influenced the position of any of our negotiating partners. From that point of view, I think that some people are justified in thinking that our security interests may not have been represented in the best possible way. I can reassure everyone that once they see the figures, they will know that this was not the case. We gave Hungarian security interests the greatest consideration, and we secured these interests in the treaty. Indeed, compared to before, our situation has improved.

MSZMP Official Comments on Soviet Trade

LD0611181990 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 6 (MTI)—At the session of the Hungarian National Assembly on Tuesday, Csaba Tabajdi (Hungarian Socialist Party) [MSZMP] asked to take the floor prior to the agenda. He said domestic political battles cannot determine the relationship of Hungary towards the Soviet Union, and presented an 8-point proposal aimed at improving co-operation with the Soviet Union.

Among the proposals is to take steps, as soon as possible, to prevent losing the Hungarian market positions in the Soviet Union, which are presently being narrowed. This is all the more important as Hungary is considered as a bridge-head for Western capital towards the Soviet market. Taking the declining energy and raw material deliveries into consideration, it would be necessary to stabilize Soviet deliveries at a determined level. Concrete steps are needed towards the member republics, instead of declarations.

Tabajdi mentioned as one of the problems that bilateral dialogue has almost fully ceased to exist, and that the ministry of International Economic Relations is not even bothering to co-ordinate necessary interests. The activation of the government's foreign policy as soon as possible is also important. He added that the planned visit of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to Moscow could significantly improve the current situation. It would be expedient for the Foreign Affairs Com mittee to examine in a closed session, by hearing [word indistinct] and with six-party co-ordination, the actual situation of the Hungarian-Soviet working relationship and its tasks for the future.

On Tuesday, in accordance with the approved agenda, parliament is expected to discuss the bill on amending the budget of the social security fund, and to begin general debate about the bill on determining prices. Discussion is also expected to take place over the parliamentary resolutions proposing to amend the house rules, and to set up the committee examining political responsibility.

Gyorgy Szabad, who is chairing the session, announced that, inasmuch as time permits, discussion will also be held about amending the law dealing with the service relationships of the career staff of the Armed Forces and the armed bodies.

Goncz Hopes for Talks With Romanian President

LD0611115990 Budapest MTI in English 1055 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, November 5 (MTI)—"I do hope I will have the opportunity to meet President Ion Iliescu. The diplomatic talks to prepare this meeting are already underway. However, a minimal amount of trust is needed for us to sit down at the negotiating table. If we do not make the first steps on this road, if our talks do not bring some kind of results, it is no use sitting down," Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, said in an interview broadcast on the Hungarian-language programme of Romanian television on Monday evening. The interview was subtitled in Romanian.

The responsibility of the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania has increased since it is no longer a victim but a master of its fate, Goncz said.

We are ready to assist Hungarians in Transylvania in anything they need. Of course, I mean diplomatic and moral aid. However, we cannot suggest anything to this minority because they have a better knowledge of their own political situation. Nor can we interfere into the handling of their affairs, or, I must say, into their relation to the Romanian state, Goncz said.

The Hungarian minority is best assisted if we create a Hungary of wealth and honesty that respects its own minorities. I was reproached for my statement that Romania's path to Europe was leading through Hungary. Now I would like to add something to this statement: Hungary's path to Europe leads through the parent countries of its minorities, since the recognition of democratic values manifests itself the most obviously in tolerance towards the national, ethnic, religious or political minorities. This is the real proof of being European today, Goncz said.

I profoundly wish for us and for Romania to shake hands in this Europe, President Goncz concluded.

Peaceful Cooperation With Romania Urged

AU0711094790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Nov 90 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the Hungarian-Romanian Society"]

[Text] The Hungarian-Romanian Society welcomes the initiatives that have been taken to enable a possible meeting between high-ranking Hungarian and Romanian leaders, and between the parliamentary delegations of our countries. The Hungarian-Romanian Society believes that the time has come for an objective and calm discussion of our problems, as well as for the resolute preparation in all areas of life of the necessary requirements for improved relations between our two countries, in accordance with the reciprocal interests of both sides. That is in the interest of both countries and both people. In the meantime, we believe that government agencies, the church, scientific, cultural, and educational institutions, enterprises and entrepreneurs, as well as representatives of the Hungarian press should seek clarifying contacts with their possible Romanian counterparts. The increased number of tourists is an encouraging sign, as are the group visits of Romanian families to Hungary, and the increasing number of meetings between the representatives of various religious denominations.

The Hungarian-Romanian Society is convinced that, despite old and new difficulties and arguments, the reciprocally important cause of the rapprochement of our two people can be furthered through resolute work, through the creation of the right conditions, and through tolerance, which is so indispensable in our region.

Slovak Language Bill, Nationalism Analyzed

AU0111110190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Oct 90 p 5

[Unattributed editorial: "National"]

[Text] The Slovak National Council in Bratislava adopted a language bill. It is a real monster and nobody likes it. The Slovak nationalists call those who adopted this bill "traitors of the nation." These people, including the leaders of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, are resigned. This is not the real thing, they say, and this is not the road that leads to Europe, but, under the current circumstances, this is something nevertheless.

This language bill seems to be a compromise, but it is not a compromise. In fact, this is not exactly a language bill, but something else. Istvan Orkeny [Hungarian writer] could write funny sketches on how 20 percent of the national minority population is counted in a small village in Slovakia. National minorities can "officially" speak their language only if their number exceeds 20 percent in a given community. Interesting situations might emerge. A child of Slovak mother and Hungarian father could be half a percentage, this way or the other way. As the Hungarian local government elections showed, a single vote can also be determining. From now on, the language a drunken Hungarian driver might use in speaking to a policeman could be determined by a single Hungarian citizen of a small village in Slovakia.

Let us do away with the Central-Eastern European conviction that only "official" things count and are valid. Besides, one's mother tongue cannot be classified as such.

It is much more interesting to learn what the nationalists want. One of them said the following in the National Council: If the Hungarians in Slovakia have not lost their national character all these years, then this will not happen to them now from the recent language bill.

These nationalists are not afraid of us, the minorities, or our mother tongue, nor are they afraid of being completely assimilated by the Hungarians in Slovakia. What they want is to dictate and loudly prove that they are the real patriots, so who else should have the power and the minister's armchair.

Hungary should not deal "officially" with this language bill. Europe will put this in the proper drawer. Hungary, however, should do its utmost to provide all the necessary assistance for the Slovaks living in Hungary to develop their mother tongue and to be able to use their mother tongue everywhere, either officially or not.

German Economic Official on Hungarian Economy

AU0611121790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Lorenz Schomerus, head of a department of the Economic Ministry in Bonn in charge of foreign economic policy, by unidentified Bonn correspondent; place and date not given: "According to Bonn, Our Situation Is Not Bad"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Lorenz Schomerus, who is also responsible for economic relations with Hungary, was a member of the German delegation that visited Hungary as a sort of crisis management body early this week. Our correspondent asked him primarily about his impressions of Hungary.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Following the visit of the German delegations, what are your views on Hungary's social and economic situation?

[Schomerus] The fact that the Hungarian Government has now come up with an economic program which clearly focuses on market economy and privatization is a very positive and important development. It is also a very positive development that the Hungarian economy is called upon to face the challenges of world economic competition. If Hungary carries out this economic program consistently, Hungary will benefit from this, just like its partners.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Have the recent events made potential German investors uneasy? Are Hungarian developments alarming from this viewpoint?

[Schomerus] No, these developments are not alarming; after all, you succeeded in finding a solution in a clever and just way. It would be much more alarming for the German investors if the aforementioned economic program was not carried out courageously and consistently enough.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Not long after the outbreak of the Hungarian crisis, the FRG Government was the first to announce its readiness to actively participate in finding a solution. What can we count on?

[Schomerus] The Federal Government will examine the possibilities in some issues which included short-term aid. In the course of requests for short-term aid, Hungary came up with some energy policy issues, and Bonn intends to react to these requests. In addition, the Federal Government wants to act as Hungary's advocate in the various international organizations. The Federal Government will see to it that Hungary also receives adequate support on a multilateral level. We already did that at the meeting of the 24 in Brussels. Hungary has good chances to become an equal partner with countries which are developing on the basis of a market economy. All this, of course, cannot occur overnight; this is accompanied by difficult adjustment processes, but the prospects are encouraging.

Chief Public Prosecutor on Demonstrations

LD0611111290 Budapest MTI in English 1022 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 5 (MTI)—Beside conducting investigations, supervising the legality of investigations and acting as prosecutor in the legal process, the constitution stipulates the Public Prosecutor's Office to be responsible for the defence of citizens' rights. This means that the Prosecutor's Office is not only a body for criminal investigation, said chief public prosecutor, Kalman Gyorgyi at his Monday [5 November] press briefing in Budapest.

As regards the taxi drivers' demo, Gyorgyi said that though an indefinite number of persons had committed crimes and offences by breaking laws on the right of assembly and other regulations, he would not agree to starting a legal process against some identifiable persons. In his opinion, it would be a good solution if the government submitted a "bill of public pardon" to parliament.

In a letter addressed to the office on Monday, Miklos Csapody, and MP [member of parliament] of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, requested the chief public prosecutor to launch an investigation into the taxi drivers' demo.

Csapody said that some parties and organizations had used the event as a pretext to achieve their political aims, made statements containing demands of an expressly political nature and distributed leaflets of this kind.

Some leaders of the local government of Budapest's 11th District also joined these forces voicing demands for changes in party policy.

Accordng to Csapody, the persons he mentioned have acted against the principle of impartiality, stated in Paragraph 32 of the Law on Local Government. He said these people also violated the constitution by supporting an action that limited the citizens' personal freedom and scope of movement.

Statistics of Local Elections Reported

LD0611111690 Budapest MTI in English 1029 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 5 (MTI)—The National Assembly at its Monday plenary session held in Budapest accepted the report of the National Electoral Committee on the election of local councillors and mayors.

The report stresses that the elections took place publically, in an orderly fashion. There were only a few cases of intentional breach of law and order.

In the first round of local elections, 3,159,623 of the 7,868,282 eligible voters cast their votes (40.16 per cent). In the second round, of the 4,932,583 eligible voters 1,427,360 (28.94 per cent) went to the ballot boxes. A second round took place at 310 settlements, including the capital.

Election of mayors:

The mayors of small towns with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants—numbering 2,930—were elected directly. The voting was successful in 2,911 small towns and mayors were elected with by-elections at 3 settlements. The number of mayors elected is 2,914, with by- elections still to be held at 16 settlements.
The break-down of mayors by party affiliation:
2,415 (82.9 per cent) - Independent
108 (3.7 per cent) - Independent Smallholders' Party
68 (2.3 per cent) - Hungarian Democratic Forum
56 (1.9 per cent) - Alliance of Free Democrats
52 (1.8 per cent) - Christian Democratic People's Party

The result for other parties and socio-political organizations fell short of one per cent.

Five mayors were elected as candidates of national and ethnic minorities.

Small lists in localities with fewer than 10,000 residents

Representatives at settlements with fewer that 10,000 inhabitants were elected on a so-called "small-list" system. Local administrations were elected with this system, either in the first or in the second round at 2,924 settlements.
The number of elected bodies is 2,925.
The number of representatives is 20,481
14,581 (71.2 per cent) - Independent
1,278 (6.2 per cent) - Independent Smallholders' Party
891 (4.4 per cent) - Hungarian Democratic Forum
752 (3.7 per cent) - Alliance of Free Democrats
626 (3.1 per cent) - Christian Democratic People's Party
727 (1.3 per cent) - Agrarian Association
229 (1.1 per cent) - Hungarian Socialist Party

Results for other parties and socio-political organizations remained below one per cent.

212 representatives were elected as candidates of national and ethnic minorities.

Two-vote elections:

The representatives of towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants were elected partly in individual constituencies and partly on lists.

The number of local councillors elected in individual constituencies is 2,107.

Breakdown by nomination:
361 (17.1 per cent) - Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)
358 (17.1 per cent) - AFD and Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) jointly
314 (14.9 per cent) - Independent
252 (12.0 per cent) - Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)
176 (8.4 per cent) - FYD
126 (6.0 per cent) - Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP)
119 (5.7 per cent) - Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP)
54 (2.6 per cent) - Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)
52 (2.5 per cent) - HDF and CDPP jointly
51 (2.4 per cent) - HDF, ISP and CDPP jointly
44 (2.1 per cent) - HDF and ISP jointly

Other parties and socio-political organizations scored less than one per cent.

Representatives were elected by lists at 162 localities. The number of mandates obtained on lists is 1,960.

Breakdown of mandates obtained by parties on lists:
405 (20.7 per cent) - Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ]
358 (18.3 per cent) - Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF]
298 (15.2 per cent) - Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ]
198 (10.1 per cent) - Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZMP]

158 (8.1 per cent) - Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) [KDNP]

152 (7.7 per cent) - Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) [FKgP]

97 (5.0 per cent) - AFD-FYD

48 (2.5 per cent) - HDF-CDPP

43 (2.2 per cent) - HFD-ISP-CDPP

25 (1.3 per cent) - Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) [MSZMP]

The results for other parties and socio-political organizations remained below one per cent.

Candidates of national and ethnic minorities obtained 9 mandates.

The first round of the election of members of the Municipal Assembly was unsuccessful. In the second round, of the 1,524,119 eligible voters in Budapest 532,255 cast their votes (34.9 per cent)

	Votes	Percentage	Mandates
Alliance of Free Democrats	184,595	34.68	25
Hungarian Democratic Forum	145,581	27.35	20
Federation of Young Democrats	96,650	18.16	13
Hungarian Socialist Party	38,588	7.25	5
Christian Democratic People's Party	26,361	4.95	3
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	19,216	3.61	0
Independent Smallholders' Party	12,234	2.30	0
Federation of Town Protection and Civil Organizations	3,826	0.72	0
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	3,002	0.56	0
National Organization of Artisans	2,202	0.41	0

Presidential Candidates Hold Election Broadcast

LD0511134990

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0625 GMT on 5 November carries its scheduled 30-minute "Election Studio" program in which presidential candidates are each allocated about five minutes of airtime.

The program begins with an excerpt of a "programmatic statement" made by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. There is no introduction to the statement that would indicate where or when it was delivered.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki says: "Today I speak to you, ladies and gentlemen, not as the prime minister of the government but as a candidate for the highest office in the country."

"The Poland which we are desired is a Poland in which one would want to live and work, having prospects for the future, a feeling of security and certainly, a country in which all citizens have a part in deciding on the matters which are of greatest importance to the country. Poland is already an independent country. Nobody today has either the right or the opportunity to decide anything in our stead. We have laid solid foundations for democracy and law. We are changing the economic system into a system of free-market economy. We are more advanced in this process than our other neighbors. All this, however, is but the beginning of the journey.

"Our Polish organism is still very fragile. Before us lies a great chance, but also the possibility of failure. We will take advantage of this change if we show consistency, energy, determination, and if we all—or at least the majority of us—feel involved in this process of changes. These are the two conditions for our success, equally important and equally necessary.

"The president has a remarkably responsible role to play. His task is to define the strategic lines of the government's policy. He is not to manage the day-to-day work of the government, that role belongs to the prime minister. He is, however, to concentrate on basic matters. These are some of the important directions of future tasks to which the government's line should be subordinate. The stability of the economy must be maintained. And especially the stability of the zloty which is an important achievement of ours. The recession must be overcome: This depends, above all, on the development of privatization. During the next three years we should bring about the privatization of at least 50 percent of state enterprises. A tax policy must be introduced, one which is clear and understandable to all, so that it may serve a good purpose.

"The farmers must be given a feeling of security and certainty in their work and, at the same time, much must be done, using foreign aid, to raise, in a fundamental way, the civilizational level of our countryside.

"An important task of the new government should be concern for the fate of the groups which are most at risk and weakest: the pensioners and the unemployed. An improvement in the living standard of pensioners is not a gift from the state, it is the result of their lives' work. The unemployed, on the other hand, must be helped not only to live through that period but to gain new qualifications.

"The development of all modern states depends, to a large degree, on the dynamic character of their most energetic, vital, and educated groups. All obstacles along this path must be removed.

"Finally, we must protect our culture and national tradition which have always decided our identity. The government—and I also see in this a great task for the future president—should create conditions for the development of culture and the protection of true values before the flood of vulgarity and shoddiness.

"I wish society to have every broader opportunities for deciding its fate. This will be served by the creation of conditions for the development of territorial self-management and widening the scope of its activities. I will support the strengthening of a pluralistic political system, a system which would allow the reconciliation of various social interests and the common good."

Mazowiecki was followed by a short segment from Lech Walesa on how the 65 percent of seats in parliament, which were not freely elected, should be taken by true representatives of various milieus. Piotr Wierzbicki, a writer for the TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC newspaper and author of the book "The Battle for Walesa" then spoke about the fact that one can be president even if one does not have any formal education. Walesa was, after all, being promoted for the post of president, not minister or prime minister—posts which require specialized qualifications. A president needs no specialist knowledge. He must just know how to make political decisions quickly and often in times of crisis. No one, said Wierzbicki, could deny Walesa's input into Solidarity, especially in its critical moments. Walesa is very willing to listen to everybody but he is basically distrustful and goes his own way. Wierzbicki finished by comparing Walesa's potential with the characteristics of Marshal Pilsudski.

Stan Tyminski, the independent candidate, spoke on exports and foreign trade—subjects in which he has some expertise—and the importance for people in Poland to be given the chance of earning a good living.

Leszek Moczulski presented the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] program on how to extricate Poland from its present difficulties. He apologized to his listeners for any repetitions in his election broadcasts and went on to the German question, the Polish-German treaty, and criticism of the Mazowiecki goverment for taking a nonoffensive line with Germany and for looking too much to Moscow.

Here followed an interview with Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz on his view of the role and responsibilities of the president.

The program ended with Roman Bartoszcze and Rafal Krawczyk, who heads Bartoszcze's team of experts, discussing Polish economic policy abroad.

Further on Radio Comments

LD0511151790

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1125 GMT on 5 November carries a 28-minute "Election Studio" program in which six presidential candidates are each allocated approximately four minutes of airtime.

The program begins with an interview with Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz on the crime rate and his protests against the amnesty law, which he says he continues to criticize.

This is followed by a brief recording of Lech Walesa, saying that he had undertaken the fight even though he had been exhausted by his internment. Stefan Kisielewski then speaks about the other candidates' election campaigns, in which they did not discuss economics or the Balcerowicz plan; only the Citizens' Committee associated with Lech Walesa seemed to be discussing these important issues. Walesa's honesty, according to Kisielewski, is proven by the fact that he did not speak of a presidential program because he did not know how much power he will, in fact, have. Other candidates, says Kisielewski, speak about sentimental matters.

Leszek Moczulski talks about changes in the Soviet Union and how those changes and any strengthening of the Soviet Union could become a danger for Poland. He says: Let us help ourselves, not them.

Next comes Tadeusz Mazowiecki, discussing his presidential program. Mazowiecki says, in a voice recording:

"Poland—and other countries which have overthrown communism—is now faced with the greatest task of overcoming the division of Europe into a rich one and a poor one. This is the sense of our efforts to abolish visas, which should become reality in the near future. This is the sense of our efforts to enter the European Community. But this is not enough. What is necessary—both on the Western side and on ours—is that there should be much more decisive steps, so that within the next 10 years the division into a rich and a poor Europe should be eliminated.

"Poland must turn its difficult geographical position into an opportunity. In relation to the new, united, economically mighty but also democratic Germany between [word indistinct] and opportunity, we have put our money on opportunity. This necessitates the overcoming of past enmity and the opening of areas of new cooperation, especially economic cooperation.

"We also see opportunity in cooperation with a Soviet Union, which is restructuring itself, and with nations to the east of us which are rebuilding their state sovereignty. Good cooperation will be served by the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country by the end of 1991, and also the renouncement of supranational structures for bilateral agreements between sovereign countries.

"The independence and the security of Poland must be based on a national system of defense for the country on all sides. I intend to abolish the institution of the Committee for the Defense of the Country. I want to appoint a defense council attached directly to the president. This is going to be the basic institution for concern for the security of the Republic.

"If I am elected, I shall, as president, be guided by Christian and democratic values, fully respecting the pluralism of political convictions and aims, striving to unite the nation around common tasks. Poland will be a homeland for the believers of all religions, and a state which will fully respect the rights of national minorities. In unavoidable social and political conflicts, I shall try to be an impartial mediator.

"The president is to ensure that Poland has respect and dignity. He is to be competent and responsible. The path chosen depends on the nation's will. Poland is all of us. Its fate is in our hands."

The announcer recalls that Roman Bartoszcze spent yesterday in Lancut. Bartoszcze's remarks follow on the project for a new constitution.

Stan Tyminski is presented last in this program and concentrates on the differences of opinion between himself and the economist Sachs, who is pleased with Poland's economic progress.

Presidential Candidates' Campaign Activities Noted

LD0711033390 Warsaw PAP in English 2232 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Nov—Candidates for Poland's president continued their meetings with electorate today.

Leszek Moczulski met with residents of Wyszkow, Ostroleka Voivodship. Presenting his vision of the foreign policy, Moczulski said: "The foreign policy as I see it should focus on providing assistance to those nations of the former Soviet bloc that are now gaining their independence. Generally speaking, the nations west of ethnic Russia and east of Germany."

"Then Poland would be one of the architects of a bloc of countries—a community, modelled on the European Community. We call it the 'shore-to-shore' policy. It is a very difficult policy today but we shall look at it in a different way tomorrow," Moczulski said.

"My government is not anti-peasant and neither am I," stated Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki during an electoral meeting with farmers in the locality of Dabrowno, northwestern Poland.

"This is a government which faces a great amount of justified needs which cannot however be satisfied right away," he added. Mazowiecki replied to many questions as to why the government, in the opinion of the farmers, has not brought about improvement but rather a deterioration of the situation in the countryside and agriculture.

"As goes for agriculture, the future policy will consist of supporting private food-processing, demonopolization of supplies for agriculture and the creation of conditions for competition in this field," Mazowiecki said.

Presidential hopeful Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz was campaigning today in the southern city of Opole.

Addressing a meeting in the Opole Philharmonic concert hall, the candidate said that many Poles are reluctant to express their opinions aloud nowadays. They are afraid to proclaim their world view for fear that it may meet with disapproval and thus persecution. This is evident in the nation's increasing animosity.

As far as foreign policy is concerned, Mr. Cimoszewicz advocated Poland's maintainance of a policy of equilibrium between her great neighbors. "We must never allow the Germans to have better relations with the Russians than we, Poles." He also added that at present Poland was in desperate need of foreign capital.

Presidential candidate and Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa was in Zielona Gora today and spoke with workers from "Stilon" chemical works in Gorzow.

"I warned you that the road we now walk leads nowhere," said Walesa, adding that change was necessary. "The property of the nation cannot be sold out. We should create possibilities to mobilize all forces. If I am elected president, I will give everything to the people."

Speaking about recent strikes by miners, he said he did not agree with them but added that there are "extreme situations". "I have said before that the people live poorly, and I have warned that we are headed for difficult times. The balcerowicz program is too severe. How can unemployed workers play an active role in the revitilization of society?"

Mr. Walesa also added that were he elected president, Solidarity would receive a new, democratically-elected chairman.

While in Sulechow, he met with business representatives, and said that he wanted to live in a Poland in Europe, but this process cannot take place quickly.

Speaking with farmers of the Zielona Gora region, Lech Walesa said that "we must stick to market rules in agriculture. At the same time, the whole world subsidizes the farming industries, and so shall Poland."

Afterwards, the presidential hopeful went on to speak at a packed amphitheater in Zielona Gora.

Farmers Query Mazowiecki on Use of Force in Mlawa

LD0611231490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Mieroslaw Rogalski report from Olsztyn]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki spent this afternoon in Dabrowno, a place on the borders of Olsztyn, Torun, and Ciechanow voivodships. The farmers asked the presidential candidate, but first and foremost the prime minister, some very difficult questions about life in the countryside.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Mr. Prime Minister, when the railwaymen went on strike they got a rise. Half of Poland came to a halt and force was not used. But force was used with farmers in Mlawa and we do not believe you any more.

[Mazowiecki] You said that force was used in Mlawa. That is right. Force was brought in, but force was not used. Nothing happened to anyone in Mlawa. No state anywhere can allow international traffic to be stopped by blocked roads and for the state to be paralyzed. Where would that lead us? However, please believe me. It was not easy for anyone to decide to send the police there, but they went with the instructions that nothing was to happen.

Ladies and gentlemen, if you ask me what is the most difficult decision I have had to make in the last 12 and more months, that was one of the most difficult. But if you say people do not trust me for that reason, I will reply to you very simply as a human being: Sir, I am a free man. I can be president but I do not have to be president. If you are not going to vote for me I will not be. [end recording]

Walesa, Mazowiecki Campaigns Compared, Contrasted

PM0611142290 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 20-21 Oct 90 pp 1, 7

[Jerzy Sadecki article: "Two Styles, Two Campaigns"]

[Text] Mazowiecki and Walesa. Each of them visited Krakow recently. How do their campaigns differ? What did each candidate tell us?

"I am running for president because I want to do more, with your help": These were Lech Walesa's words. "The dissatisfaction with the pace of the reforms in Poland, and the fact that your living standards are not improving encourage me to strive to better serve the cause which began so well."

Tadeusz Mazowiecki has something different to say: "I decided to run in this competition to try and protect our fragile Polish democracy from incalculable shocks and upheavals."

Walesa recommends "an eruption of controlled anger" that would allow us to discard everything that is in the way. During a Regional Board meeting, he addressed the union activists as follows: "There are many vacant positions accompanying the course that I intend to take. I shall take people with me and make room for many of you along the way. Consequently, you should prepare yourselves, in terms of your personal readiness and a readiness to promote our program, to support me so that I do not make a fool of myself."

Mazowiecki, in turn, had this to say: "I do not promise the impossible, but I do promise concern with internal peace in the country, harmony among Poles, and an adequately dignified place for the Polish Republic in the world. I promise to ensure that your work, your inspiration, and your spirit of enterprise all bear fruit in the form of prosperity for your families."

According to Walesa, the president's task is to ensure that the government, parliament, and society all interact in harmony with one another. However, he will, when required, visit local trouble areas and sort things out. He will not tolerate being tied to his chair of office. "They say that I want to be a Wild West-style sheriff. My brief as a sheriff would be to involve you in the task of transforming Poland."

Mazowiecki insists that the future new constitution will define the scope and extent of the power of the president's office.

"In my opinion the president should be a worthy exponent of the Republic's dignity, and he should also ensure that his country's citizens rest secure in an assurance of peace, security, and a stable state policy." In the prime minister's view, the president should possess and cultivate the virtues of prudence, justice, restraint, and courage.

Everything is simple in Lech Walesa's declarations: We should settle for "acceleration;" give power back into society's hands; allow everyone to pursue a quest for wealth by setting up banks or establishing their own bakeries, butcher's shops or, food processing plants throughout rural communities. Walesa offers an uncompromising, immediate solution to the problems created by the Sendzimir Steelworks [formerly Lenin Steelworks], which has been poisoning the city of Krakow with impunity for long decades: If there is no other way out, it must be closed down immediately. He himself is prepared to sit atop the plant's chimneys to stop the toxic emissions. He is confident that the plant's work force will find other jobs elsewhere. Yet, at another point, Walesa promised the steelworkers: "I will do everything to ensure that your wages are doubled!"

"We decided to achieve a thorough transformation of the economy and we will strive for this goal with all our energy and determination," Tadeusz Mazowiecki declared. "In this field, as in any other, haste and imprudent decisions can cause incalculable damage and far-reaching consequences. The government is responsible for preventing a recurrence of the inflation explosion, a further decrease in production, and a continuing spread of uncontrolled unemployment. It must also secure the state's interests and avoid at all costs the danger of selling off the national assets dirt-cheap. We must not give in to the suggestions of doctrinaires or to the shouting of demagogues who offer their magic tricks as ways of restoring our economy to good health."

The Solidarity chairman does not specify in any detail how the desired changes should be carried out. He does not give any consideration to what is economically viable, to what we can afford. He believes that we can change everything rapidly just like that. It would appear that the main tactic of "Walesa's revolution" would be to take over the 65-percent majority [originally reserved for former government coalition]. He keeps repeating that after the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] was dissolved, the chance to transcend the old power arrangements and setups was wasted.

Any comparison between the views and proposals proffered by the two candidates is the more difficult as Lech Walesa has not, in effect, submitted any tangible, cohesive election program at all. The advertised "address of major importance" which, according to his associates, Lech Walesa was supposed to deliver in the Prussian Homage Hall [of Krakow's Wawel Castle], never took place at all. Admittedly, journalists were issued the text of an address which Walesa never delivered, but this did not contain any program declarations either. Everything that he told his Krakow audiences was mere collections of loose—often virtually incoherent—slogans, declarations of intent, and expressions of wishful thinking. These can be impressive at face value. Walesa's listeners enjoy his anecdotal style and laugh at his gibes against the government and the premier—but is this enough? Lech relies mainly on the impact of his personality!

If you analyze Walesa's statements in closer detail, you will find that in many matters he does and declares nothing more than his adversary in the presidential contest does and declares. The only difference is that Walesa's declarations sound better than Mazowiecki's.

Even as Mazowiecki speaks about the currently implemented—as well as still planned—privatization project, and discusses its advantages as well as its pitfalls and perils, Walesa shouts loudly about exactly the same subject, but he presents his case in a much more glittering packaging: "Everybody get rich! I will turn all state assets over to you, and it is up to you to start your businesses with it."

Mazowiecki declares unhesitating support for and promises assistance with development of small businesses, such as processing and other enterprises, in rural communities. Walesa urges: "Open your own bakeries, butcher's shops, and food processing plants." But he avoids entering into a detailed discussion of such projects. In all questions of this kind, he has just the one, universal, key solution to all problems: If he is elected president, he will solve each and every given problem together with his fellow Poles.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki states that "a restoration of the authority and stability of the law and the rule-of-law principle is a major and all-important task. Restoration of the state's authority requires that those in power be subordinate to the law and not the other way round."

Lech Walesa says: "Decrees have always been necessary, are necessary now, and will probably continue to be necessary. The only thing is to state clearly who can use them and when. I do not envisage their being used against democracy or against the people. They are necessary as measures to be used against anything that blocks the desired transformations: as a method of lancing the abscess."

"Since parliament is permanently in session at present, I see no reason or need to issue decrees," Mazowiecki insists.

Walesa does not specify who should be the ultimate authority deciding when to use them and when they do not threaten democracy and the people. Here the criteria could be extremely elastic...

In Walesa's opinion, we must rely primarily on ourselves (though he promises foreign assistance to the Sendzimir Steelworks): If we do not tackle things ourselves, no one will help us. Polish-foreign joint ventures are acceptable, but only up to 49 percent of shares.

Mazowiecki declares that he will not allow national assets to be squandered, though at the same time he promises that Poland will open up wide to the world and return to Europe in all fields.

Walesa does not refute firmly enough the assertions that at present in Poland "there is a conspiracy by the freemasons of the Citizens Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] group, which has been infiltrated by communists." At the Sendzimir Steelworks meeting he refused to endorse statements to that effect, but indicated that he was prepared to understand the origin of such nationalistic and chauvinistic sentiments. They were generated by the fact that we did not have a "free flow" system. But already during the subsequent meeting he declared: "I am a thoroughbred Pole: I was born here!"

Mazowiecki's vision of Poland is not as richly colored and enticing as that painted by Walesa's enunciations. But the former is more tangible and better ordered, and it constitutes a logical continuation of the reforms which are now under way here.

Whose arguments will prevail? As I listen to each candidate, I wonder what lasting impressions will stay with the people who took part in these public meetings. How will the voters respond to the rational points and comments served by Mazowiecki in an unexciting "sauce" made up of a considerable quantity of concrete facts and data? How will they behave after a rally for Lech Walesa's supporters, at which they applauded the chairman so fervently and laughed at his jokes so readily? What reflections will remain with them after the emotions and enthusiasms which accompany these election visits subside and calm down? Will they provide a seed which will yield a future harvest, or something altogether different? We will find all these things out on election day.

Ex-Minister Hall on Mazowiecki, Walesa Campaigns

AU0611210090 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3-4 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Aleksander Hall, former minister for political parties, by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "The Responsibility of Politicians"]

[Excerpts] [Paradowska] You have given up the post of minister for political parties in order to join Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election staff. How would you sum up the dozen or so months you spent in the Council of Ministers?

[Hall] This period was dominated by two major issues—the problem of what to do with the property of the old parties, and the drafting of the new Political Parties Act. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] Now you are a member of Mazowiecki's staff. What is his vision of the Presidency? I still do not know.

[Hall] Indeed our candidate has not expressed himself clearly on this subject so far, but he will certainly do so soon. For the time being, I can say that Mazowiecki is opposed to a Presidency that is merely representational. He believes the president should actually lay down strategic objectives of state policy.

[Paradowska] But it has been said that Mazowiecki will be a dormant president, while Walesa will put life into this office.

[Hall] Neither of those statements are true. Mazowiecki does not want any honorary responsibilities. He will try to exert a major influence on affairs. He is not a politician who likes to be served. I think he is taking to much upon himself.

[Paradowska] But it has also been said that he reaches decisions five minutes too late.

[Hall] Strategic decisions always take time. It is true that the prime minister needs a long time to reach a decision, but the negative qualities one has while prime minister sometimes turn out to be good qualities while president, and Mazowiecki has many qualities which we will not discuss here. I am convinced that a prime minsiter should be an energetic and efficient implementor of the strategy that is laid down by the president. I am not at all sure whether Walesa would be able to develop the chances offered by the office of president.

[Paradowska] But you all consider him energetic, a populist, and unpredictable in his actions. Why do you think he is a populist?

[Hall] Because he says the right things to everyone. He says: Yes, you are right, your grievances are justified. He says: No, let us not close down large plants, let us establish new ones instead. He also says: There is no room for greater unemployment in Poland. He expresses muddled ideas about distributing the national wealth.

One must admit that he does not make any concrete promises. I think he himself is stirring up the wave that is meant to take him to power, and that he is using this wave as a tool, for he himself is not a populist and has a sober view of the need for sacrifice. I also think he would try to implement non-populist policies. But the problem is whether he will be able to do that if he is riding the crest of this or that wave.

[Paradowska] Has this wave been stirred up by Walesa, or by people's living conditions? Maybe he is causing this wave to subside?

[Hall] True, there is reason for dissatisfaction. But there is also the question of the responsibility of the politicians who will exploit this dissatisfaction.

[Paradowska] Has Walesa ever acted irresponsibly, for example during the "roundtable" or when forming this government to which Mazowiecki was opposed?

[Hall] A politician's life is not the only basis on which to make predictions. We all change. Walesa has also changed, as a man and as a politician. I see his qualities as a politician and his services to Poland, but I also see a great danger if he becomes president. Will he continue the process of democratic changes and economic reforms? Lech Walesa has a habit of making irresponsible statements, but that does not mean I think he is an irresponsible politician and that I ignore what he has done. By the way, I do not like the way people go from one to the other extreme—first they glorify him, and then condemn him outright.

[Paradowska] I see that the prime minister's staff consists of people who have taken this road, and very quickly too.

[Hall] I prefer not to comment on that.

Solidarity Body's Pro-Walesa Resolution Noted

AU0311201090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 90 p 3

[Anna Baniewicz commentary: "Abuse"]

[Excerpts] As we know, some chapters of "Solidarity" have criticized the National Commission resolution supporting Lech Walesa's presidential candidacy. The matter is serious because it concerns the often-repeated idea of political pluralism and political culture. Unfortunately, it also reminds us of the part. I think these chapters have been right to say that the union cannot dictate a single course of action for its members because it consists of people with varied political orientations. I think the union resolution is a case of abuse, just like the ensuing call for "all trade unionists and all union bodies to cooperate in Lech Walesa's election campaign." Who authorized the National Commission to speak on behalf of millions of "Solidarity" members concerning their political choice? Each member of the National Commission can individually support Walesa, but the Commission had no right to support him on behalf of the entire union, because they have no mandate to do so.

There is no denying the fact that "Solidarity" split up several months ago. So why does the commission's resolution say that "Walesa's election victory would be the culmination of decades of struggle by our union and chairman to restore to Poland freedom, independence, pluralistic democracy, and a market economy"? Why is it implied that only that part of "Solidarity" that supports Walesa will implement the above ideals? After all, the present government is already doing so, and in fact all presidential candidates have included them in their programs. [passage omitted]

"Solidarity" does not mean an enforced unity. Even at a time of developing democracy, the "voice of the people" must consist of more than one choice.

Interior Ministry Finds Documents on Martial Law

LD0611230390 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Nov—During a press conference held by the interior minister today, it was announced that documents were found in the minister's cabinet concerning the introduction of martial law in Poland. They are incomplete because part of them were destroyed in November 1982.

The preserved documents cover a period from August 16, 1980 till December 22, 1981. On August 1980 the then minister of internal affairs, Gen. Stanislaw Kowalczyk established a task force at the Ministry of Internal Affairs to: "Properly coordinate an operation codenamed Summer 80." In the light of the strikes in August 1980, the task force elaborated several variants of action aimed at "normalizing the socio-political situation of the country." One of them envisaged sending militia paratroopers to Gdansk to kidnap Lech Walesa and other strike leaders and bring them to Warsaw. The law enforcement forces were ready to start action as early as August 27, 1980.

The first list with the names of people earmarked for internment is dated October 21, 1980. Under decision of the leadership of the Interior Ministry, each of the voivodship militia commanders had his own list of people to be interned. In 1981 such activity was intensified. On April 7, 1981 a decision was made to set up joint military and militia operating units, thus combining the preparations of the Interior and Defence Ministries for the introduction of martial law.

Bugging Devices Removed from Buildings, Churches

LD0611192690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Remarks by Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Jan Widacki at a news conference in Warsaw on 6 November—recorded]

[Text] We have begun to discover and eliminate the remaining bugging devices. This type of equipment was installed in various private and church buildings beginning in at least the early 1950's. No complete documentation exists, and it never did. We can only follow the trail of such activity, and at the moment we have succeeded in reproducing at least part of the documentation concerning installations in church buildings.

We came across traces of documentation concerning church buildings—that is, we know that in certain buildings bugging devices were installed. We can even to some extent say which type, and are trying to eliminate them. Bugging equipment in the Polish primate's apartment at Jasna Gora, [word indistinct] with the holy father's apartment, was removed about two weeks ago. According to technical assessments, this equipment dates from the end of the 1970's, and that is when it was probably installed. It is difficult for us to say when it was last used, as the documentation does not exist.

Council of Ministers on How To Spend Foreign Aid

AU0711094690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Dariusz Fikus report: "Who Gets The Donations and Funds?"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers met twice this week, on Monday, 29 October, and Wednesday, 31 October. The Monday meeting finished at 0300 the next day! The Wednesday meeting lasted from 1100 to 1400. The agenda consisted of how to spend the money received from foreign sources, and the law on the office of the notary public. The meetings were chaired by Prime Minister Mazowiecki.

There are two forms of foreign aid for Poland—gifts in the form of goods and services, and zloty funds generated by selling such goods and services offered to Poland on the Polish market. Witold Trzeciakowski is responsible for managing and distributing this aid on behalf of the government. The council considered how to use it. Unlike in the previous era, when such aid was clearly earmarked for the easing of acute market shortages, this time the aid will be used to create permanent sectors of a modern economic system.

Poland is receiving aid form 24 Western countries which have attached various conditions to it, these conditions being the implementation of the rule of law, respect for human rights, the introduction of a multiparty system of government, the election of such a government in a democratic manner, and the introduction of a market economy. What is important is that the Western aid be used for state socioeconomic purposes. The point is to follow the patterns used by highly developed countries and avoid the mistakes which did not even spare the West. Hence the importance of making good use of the foreign aid.

In a nutshell, in 1991-92 the foreign aid should be spent on the following:

—Creating financial institutions and a securities market;
—Commercializing state enterprises;
—Setting up consultant services;
—Building of a network of job agencies and a social security system;
—Providing financial support for small and medium-scale private enterprises;
—Abolishing the monopolies on the procurement, storage, and distribution of agricultural produce, thus creating a free market situation in agriculture;
—Creating advisory services for farmers;
—Developing the telephone network;
—Organizing a system of trade promotion and marketing;
—Developing the system of local government;
—Reforming the health service
—Halting the regression in Polish science and supporting those spheres of culture in which Poland occupies a major international position.

The list of priorities adopted by the Council of Ministers and the way to use foreign aid is merely a suggestion, the basis of a final document to be submitted to all donors.

Next, the Council of Ministers adopted a bill on the office of the notary public. All the state notary offices presently in existence are to be replaced by a uniform system of offices staffed by notaries public, each of which will be self-financing. Some of the duties that notaries have been performing until now, such as matters relating to the acquisition and disposal of land, will be transferred to regional courts.

As a result, a notary will no longer be a state employee, but will nevertheless remain a person to be trusted, and eligible for the protection afforded to public employees.

The law creates the free profession of notary public, and signifies a complete privatization of this profession, just like in the West and in Poland before the war. This process of change will commence immediately after the law has been adopted, and should be completed within three years.

Encouraging Signs Seen in Polish-German Talks

AU0711092390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Nov 90 pp 1, 7

[Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk commentary: "The Border Treaty Has Been Agreed]

[Text] The first two rounds of official Polish-German negotiations on the two treaties that will decide how future Polish- German relations develop have been concluded.

The negotiations are being held in the shadow of the upcoming elections; presidential elections in Poland and general elections in Germany.

This situation may or may not influence the work of the two delegations, but it will no doubt influence the results of their endeavors and especially the ratification dates.

Observers of the FRG political scene maintain that it cannot be a matter of indifference for Germany, who is elected president in Poland and how that person exercises his authority. It is also quite obvious that the chief architect of German reunification, Helmut Kohl, is not inclined to furnish easy arguments for those groups of his compatriots who are opposed to Polish-German reconciliation.

Putting aside the German press campaign during the run-up to the German elections, which is unfavorable to Poland and the press of the Opole and Silesian German minority in Poland, the essence of the matter lies in more important issues. The most important matter is that for the first time, both neighbors are in a position to decide with full sovereignty on their fate. This is a great opportunity and evidence shows that both countries wish to make the most of it.

Germany has reunited, but many countries, including those in the West have not freed themselves of the fear of the implications that reunification may have for the future. Today, Germany finds itself in a situation that requires trust above anything else. The way Germany shapes its relations with Poland will, to a large extent, influence the level of its credibility vis a vis the rest of the world and be a manifestation of its goodwill. In this way, Germany's relationship with Poland is to a certain extent a matter of prestige for Germany.

If the two treaties are negotiated in a way that satisfies the interests of both parties and not just one, then it will be a real breakthrough in mutual relations. Up till now, the two countries have never signed a treaty that confirms the border between them nor a treaty on cooperation and neighborly relations. It is perhaps too early to prejudge the issue, but this is a good time to recall the opportunities that have become available.

Polish public opinion reacts badly to any swings, changes, and shifts in German policy towards Poland. Judging from the statements made by Jerzy Sulek, director of the European Department and head of the Polish delegation to the negotiations, and his deputy Jan Baracz, one can surmise that the first round of the talks that finished on Wednesday [31 October] had a favorable outcome.

The talks began early in the morning and finished in the early afternoon. Both sides were able to conclude their negotiations on the first treaty and agree on the text of the projected "treaty between Poland and the FRG confirming the Polish-German border that exists between them." This treaty must be seen as an important document. A document that brings to an end the old chapter in mutual relations.

The outcome of the talks—perhaps the most important for Poland—is the fact that there are no substantive links between one treaty and the other. The ratification date is still a matter which has to be agreed. The Polish side has stressed that it attaches considerable weight to issue that the treaty should be paragraphed as soon as possible. If possible, at the meeting between Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 8 November. It will not be possible to sign and ratify the treaty earlier than the beginning of 1991, namely, after the German general elections in December 1990 and the subsequent formation of a new government.

Director Sulek thinks that by then negotiations on the second treaty, the treaty on cooperation and good-neighborly relations, should be well advanced. These negotiations began on 31 October 1990 on the second and final day of the first set of negotiations. The two parties have already agreed the form and the structure of this treaty. It is probable that the document will consist of 10 chapters and contain about 20 articles. Much time was taken up with agreeing the preamble which talks about the political principles and aims of the treaty on good relations and cooperation. The second round of negotiations is scheduled for 26 and 27 November in Bonn.

The fact that in the talks new methods of negotiation were applied at the suggestion of the Polish side, gives some hope that the negotiations will make progress. Both sides have agreed to move away from a diplomacy of confrontation towards a diplomacy of cooperation. This new formula is politically based, because both countries want to stress their presence in the European process of integration.

Mazowiecki Rejects Special Status for Germans

LD0611180990 Hamburg DPA in German 1602 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Munich (DPA)—In an interview with the Munich-based 'SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG' [Prime Minister] Mazowiecki has rejected all demands for a special status for the German minority in Poland. "This is an internal matter for our country," he said. The German minority represents an important factor for understanding between the two peoples. "On this the minority can do something fundamental for both countries. It must understand this, and not cling to the traditions that did much harm to our relations in the past."

Mazowiecki expressed his hope that the border treaty negotiated between Bonn and Warsaw would be signed soon after the Bundestag elections. On demands made by German politicians for a declaration of regret about the expulsion of the Germans from the eastern areas, he referred to a statement he made shortly after his election, in the summer of 1989.

The Polish prime minister also called for acceleration of the harmonization of the two parts of Europe. After the political and military divisions are overcome, they must not be replaced by a division into a rich and a poor Europe.

Jaruzelski Receives Luxembourg Prime Minister

LD0611213390 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Nov—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Luxembourg's Prime Minister Jacques Santer.

They discussed the bilateral relations and stressed the need for their expansion. Referring to European issues, they focused on negotiations on Poland's association with EC and her membership of the Council of Europe.

President Jaruzelski said he was convinced that the first visit to Poland by the prime minister of Luxembourg would give an impulse to entering by the two countries of a new stage of mutual relations, and added Poland would be much interested in such state of affairs.

The Polish president said Poland pinned big hopes on Luxembourg's taking over the EC chairmanship in early 1991. He said that Poland would count on Luxembourg's support in negotiations on her association with EC and her membership of the Council of Europe.

Nastase Addresses Council of Europe in Rome

AU0611165290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1505 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/11/1990—"The extension of the European Convention on the Human Rights to the whole continent should now concentrate all efforts," said the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase at a ministerial conference held in Rome by the Council of Europe on "40 years of human rights protection by the Council of Europe: achievements, prospects, pan-European resonance."

Speaking of the radical changes the revolution of December, 1989 brought about in Romania, Mr. Nastase showed that the creation of a democratic society based on pluripartitism, a state of law, market economy and full observance of human rights was the Romanian people's irrefutable option. And that the establishment of a genuine parliamentarian democracy with unabated respect for the individual's fundamental rights and freedoms, in compliance with European standards, was the Romanian Government's line of action.

"From its point of view, Romania," said the Romanian minister, "is ready to adhere to the European Convention on the Human Rights, as well as to other conventions of the Council, to participate in all actions sponsored by the latter, and to cooperate with all the states in promoting human rights standards and procedures."

Holds Talks With De Michelis

AU0611165490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1657 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Rome (ROMPRES) 6/11/1990—The Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase had a working meeting with his Italian counterpart Gianni de Michelis. The talks centered on bilateral problems, the two ministers high lighting the positive evolution of Romanian-Italian relations after the December revolution.

The Romanian minister referred to the problems facing its government in the current phase, when Romania embarked on a reform program and other measures considered apt to consolidate democracy. He insisted on the special role the assistance and support from Western countries can play at this turning point, with special reference to that of Italy, linked to Romania by traditional relations of cooperation.

The Italian foreign minister Gianni de Michelis reiterated the Italian Government's interest in the events in Romania, and its willingness to fully support Romania in its efforts for political democracy and the passage to the market economy.

The two ministers agreed to intensify dialogue between the two governments, at various levels, and to maintain a close contact between the two ministers of foreign affairs. The Romanian minister invited his Italian counterpart to visit Bucharest. The invitation was accepted, the date of visit being set for the beginning of next year in principle.

Possibilities and ways of enhancing economic, technico-scientific and cultural relations between Romania and Italy were also analysed. The two sides agreed to encourage contacts and reciprocal visit between members of the two governments, the two parliaments and of non-governmental bodies, as well as human contacts.

Voicing his satisfaction at the particular contribution of Italy in its capacity as president of the Council of the European Community, in the conclusion and signing of the cooperation agreement between Romania and the European Community, Romania's minister of foreign affairs referred once again to Romania's interest in cooperating as closely as possible with the European Community, the two ministers analysed the most appropriate ways of action in this direction, and ways to efficiently link Romania with the system of European institutions.

Iliescu Sends Message to Soviet President

AU0711095190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0915 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/11/1990—The November 7 anniversary is a happy occasion to warmly congratulate you and to wish the peoples of friendly Soviet Union prosperity and success in their restructuring programmes.

I am convinced that the profound changes taking place in Romania and the Soviet Union set the possibility in place for the development of friendship, good neighbourliness and broad cooperation in all areas, for the benefit of the Romanian people and of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of international peace and security.

I take this opportunity to wish you health and fresh success in your highly responsible work.

Unauthorized Hungarian Demonstration Held

AU0611123890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0914 GMT 6 Nov 90

["Political Life: What's Going on in Tirgu Mures?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/11/1990—Monday afternoon, 5th November, about 1,500 youths, protested in an unauthorised demonstration against the cancellation of a concert by the rock group Edda from Hungary at the town's Convention Hall. The cancellation, decided by the local administrative organs, Prefecture, School Inspectorate and County Culture Inspectorate, was motivated by the disorder caused at a similar concert last week by the same rock group.

As to the last week's incidents, at the said Hungarian rock group's concert, the daily "ADEVARUL" reminds that some of the spectators started chanting slogans like "Hungarian Transylvania," "Long Live Hungary," "Rise Magyars" waving the Hungarian national flag. They broke window panes, destroyed public property. After the show, a group of youngsters carrying the Hungarian flag and urging "Forward" started on an authorised march in the streets chanting "Hungarian Transylvania," "Independent Transylvania."

Severin Comments on Visits to Japan, South Korea

AU0611194790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/11/1990—Mr. Adrian Severin, minister, prime minister's assistant for reform and relationship with Parliament, returned to Bucharest from his visits to Japan and South Korea.

In connection with his contacts during that visit the Romanian dignitary stated the following to a ROMPRES news agency editor: "We intended to use the opportunity of those visits to present our programme of reforms and our expectations concerning the implementation of that programme. The second purpose of our visit was to ask support and specialized assistance for improving our programme and for implementing it from governmental or semi- governmental organisms, public bodies, from specialized institutions or even trade companies."

"We have asked for economic councilors for the government, we have asked for managers for our enterprises, for the new Romanian trade societies, we have asked for financial support through credits given to the investors or the exporters in those countries to Romania.

A last problem approached was the one connected with the support the respective countries could give to the Romanian export programme, especially through transfer of the experience characteristic for Japan and South Korea. South Korea and Japan have greatly advanced using clever economic methods and, taking into consideration their results, their experience should be well known to us.

Everywhere we have received encouraging answers. We have been told the disponibility of the respective governments and specialized institutions to organise a seminar in their countries for Romanian managers, for those involved in the Romanian administration so that they could get acquainted with the methods used in the Japanese and South Korean economies. Also well received was the idea to exchange exploring missions, that is complex teams of Japanese and South Korean and Romanian experts, who should be able to find possibilities of investment in Romania.

We have been assured that our request concerning the economic councilors for the Romanian Government will be studied and eventually settled, which represents an essential factor for speeding up our reforms. Companies in the two visited countries proved ready to financially support such actions and to ensure the training of Romanian managers in Japanese and South Korean companies.

In my opinion, we have returned with favourable, encouraging answers which we hope to see carried into effect as soon and as good as possible. We were told that the businessmen in the visited countries were ready to invest in Romania, that they appreciated our programme of reforms, they considered it serious, coherent, clear, oriented toward fundamental measures. But there still are reserves in connection with the fact that the work time is not fully used in Romania and that many of us forget the saying according to which "linen are to be washed in the family."

Canada's Mulroney Sends Message to Iliescu

AU0611171190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1705 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/11/1990—President Ion Iliescu has received from Canada's prime minister, Mr. Brian Mulroney, "a message of prosperity and success in the democratic development of Romania."

The message was conveyed on Tuesday by Mr. John Dumitrascu, a Canadian citizen of Romanian origin, director of a group of advisers to Canada's prime minister, former vice-president of the Executive Committee of the Conservative Party.

The talks at Cotroceni centered on Romanian-Canadian relations. The guest promised to depict to all his people back home the true face of Romania, a country which "has firmly embarked on the irreversible path toward democracy and a state of law."

Roman, Ministers Discuss Price Liberalization

AU0511190790

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 2017 GMT on 4 November carries 33 minutes of recorded portions of a discussion held at 1900 GMT in the television studio on price liberalization. The participants included Prime Minister Petre Roman; Anton Vatasescu, minister of state in charge of industrial and trade activity; Ion Aurel Stoica, minister of state in charge of quality of life; Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state in charge of economic guidance; and Finance Minister Teodor Stolojan.

The President of Romanian Radio and Television, Professor Razvan Theodorescu, opens the discussion by thanking Prime Minister Roman for "agreeing to be the guest of Romanian Television for the second time this weekend" and for answering citizens' questions on price liberalization. Theodorescu says that the numerous phone calls show that "people agree with price liberalization." There are doubts and numerous questions, however, about "what is going on in the field of social protection and why exactly was this moment chosen for the liberalizations" and about other issues.

Theodorescu's first question is: "How poor are we going to become and how long will we have to tighten our belts?"

Roman answers: "It is true that the question is very direct and because we are facing a decisive time for pulling the country out of a deadlock, it is absolutely necessary for us to be completely sincere. I am sure that a great majority of our fellow citizens do not doubt our sincerity or our competence, but facing these decisive moments, we all should be sincere and admit that we live better, we live an easier life, and incomparably a more decent life than before the December revolution. The question is, what is the price we paid for it? How did we pay for this better life? Have we paid this price with our work? I have already answered this question. It has been paid for with our work only to a much smaller extent than it should have been. If we paid for this better life by eroding, diminishing, and depleting resources, and by promoting a policy which should have yielded better results in our products, in more production, and in better labor productivity—something that has not happened—it would inevitably demonstrate to every person of good faith that it this is the right time for change." He also says that "greatly decreasing the quality of work on one hand and increasing incomes on the other hand is impossible. We do not have to accuse anyone in particular for this situation. We have torn ourselves away from certain structures, from an economic mechanism which we all reject and to which we do not want to return; however, we must replace it with something. As long as we do not replace it, people certainly cannot expect much. We regret that we do not continue to live as we have done so far—namely, to get relatively cheap thermal power and electrical energy, low rents, and high state allowances for transportation and other services—if we no longer have the means to pay for them." Roman says that the government replaces the old system with economic reforms which means a "new economic mechanism." He says that people have to approach things in the same way whether one is a producer or a purchaser because a person is the same whether he is at home or at work; therefore, "we have the same duties and rights" and "the issue is no longer to work for the society. Now the issue is that each of us works for himself. If we are getting poorer it is because we have not succeeded in putting this new economic mechanism into operation and because we have not succeeded in motivating all the vital forces of the nation."

Theodorescu asks a question regarding the protection offered to citizens. Ion Aurel Stoica answers: "A primary issue is that newly married people—in accordance with their position as employees, pupils, or students—will benefit by all the facilities to which the entire population is entitled. Certainly, in the near future, as of 1 January 1991, the government intends to grant long-term loans to newly married people and young families. These loans will not be less than 100,000 lei for a period of more than 10 years, and the interest for at least half of the sum will be paid out of the state budget, mainly through the activity of the Department of Youth within the Minister of Youth and Sports. Roman intervenes saying that "all pensioners will also have to benefit from the same compensation" to set all those pensioners' minds at rest who wrote him letters and who trust him.

Theodorescu asks "why do students who get a scholarship not receive compensation?" and an unidentified person says that "as of 1 January 1991, students' scholarships will be recalculated—not to use the word indexed." The same person refers to the fact that "students who are older than 16 and students who do not have a survivors' benefit or scholarship will be granted compensation as of 1 January which will be equal with the average children's allowance in the national economy. This will amount to 425 lei per month."

Theodorescu mentions that most citizens consider price liberalization equal to an increase of prices. Roman and other people talk about these issues and an unidentified person talks about commercial societies, privatization, and reform of the economic mechanism.

In conclusion, Television President Razvan Theodorescu thanks the ministers for their answers and for explaining the government's viewpoints to the television viewers.

Press Organs React to Price Liberalization

AU0611143490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1252 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/11/1990—"ADEVARUL": We are still puzzled over the government's secrecy in working out the price-liberalization measures. As government members appear before the public questions get more and more numerous, they get more and more profound. Here are a few of these questions: Who is to negotiate prices as long as only some 2[illegible] commercial companies and autonomous corporations have been created so far? If the prices are set according to the supply-and-demand law does anyone know which the supply-and demand ratio is at present and how it can be assessed by groups of commodities? If the money to be drawn out of the people's pockets through the new prices will be decisively channeled towards meeting current production demands, isn't the viewpoint correct according to which the price liberalization is virtually a monetary reform in disguise whereby the people are compelled to contribute to relaunching production with money taken out of their pockets?

"ROMANIA LIBERA": It is with great caution that such a wide-scope measure of serious socioeconomic effects should be taken. This measure, however, which is correct in its theoretical content, proves superficial when it comes to the way it has been devised. The price rises came too soon, without a detailed analysis of the structure of production costs by elements, an analysis that should have unconditionally involved all economic decision makers.

"DREPTATEA": The liberalization of prices should have been preceded by the establishment of the forms of property: the private ownership of land and of enterprises. This "liberalization" defends the interests of those who made profits under Ceausescu, those who had capital at that time and could invest it either in hard currency or in other assets. Most people, however, are compelled to cope with sacrifices as their incomes are seriously affected. The famous "cash handouts" are nothing but dust thrown into their eyes. The liberalization of prices is nothing but a Ceausescu-type resettlement of prices, the only difference being that now all prices go up with the sole aim of recovering the state budget.

'Bratianu' Union Reacts to Price Liberalization

AU0611182390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/11/1990—In a statement sent to the press, the "Bratianu" Union says: "We insist that the government carry out privatization simultaneously with the immediate indexing of salaries, as the two-month delay is really difficult to bear.

A prolongation of the delay would lead to the exhaustion of any trace of capital the average citizen might have, and private investments would become impossible for a great part of the employees.

We ask the population to examine the situation calmly and understand it exactly."

Senate Discusses Bill on National Defense

AU0611201890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2042 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/11/1990—The Senate resumed its proceedings in plenum on Tuesday. Before starting debates on the items on the agenda, the President of the Senate Alexandru Barladeanu made a number of points concerning the way in which the activity of the Senate is reflected in mass media, more particularly in "GAZETA DE VEST" which in a recent issue seriously criticised the technical apparatus of the Senate, the manner in which its staff had been selected. Mr. Barladeanu informed the Senate that data had been published in the press which, although unimportant, were for internal use. He expressed his concern over the fact that there were people within the apparatus who sell information. In that context Mr. Barladeanu asked and the Senate approved the setting up of a commission of senators to investigate into the activity of the apparatus.

Taking over the chairmanship of the session, Mr. Radu Campeanu, vice-president of the Senate, proposed that the persons putting questions to the government should no longer be televised, a question on which a decision is to be made in a future session.

Next, the Senate debated and approved the bill on the creation, organization and operation of the Higher Council for the Country's Defence in times of both peace and war. The council is made up of Romania's president, as chairman, the prime minister, as deputy chairman, and eight members, heads of the major bodies with direct responsibilities in fulfilling the tasks regarding national defence and state security.

Another important item on the agenda was that concerning the report of the politics and human and civic rights commission on the bill regarding the extension of the provisions of the Decree-Law No. 118/1990 also to the people deported abroad after 23 August 1944.

All the senators that took the floor agreed with the report and the following amendment: This category includes also the persons considered prisoners by the Soviet side after 23 August 1944.

The two houses of the Parliament will meet in a joint session on Wednesday, 7 November, at 9 o'clock, to continue the debates on the report Premier Petre Roman read two weeks ago.

Deputies' Assembly Discusses Religious Tensions

AU0611165090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/11/1990—On Tuesday morning the Assembly of Deputies continued its debates in plenum with an attendance of 321.

In the first part of the session, chaired by Mr. Dan Martian, deputies Petru Maior and Ionel Roman read a report on the activity of the commission the Assembly of Deputies charged with investigation of the causes behind the state of tension between the Cristian Orthodox and the Graeco-Catholic denominations in Baia Mare. In consideration of the complex aspects related to the respective conflict, upon Mr. Martian's proposal, a decision was adopted with a majority of votes which says that those aspects be analysed by the Assembly of Deputies specialized commissions with the participation of those involved so that such tension, that foments conflicts and prevents the establishment of a climate of harmony between the two Christian Churches, may be liquidated.

The first item in the agenda, that is, the discussion by articles of the draft law on the settlement of collective work conflicts, was approached.

The proceedings continue.

'Civic Alliance' Set Up To Protect Rights

AU0711130990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/11/1990—The "Civic Alliance" has been set up as an organisation which aims, according to its "statement of principles" to take energetic action and support the development of a civilian society which alone can ensure the exercise of civil freedoms," daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" announces in its 7 November issue.

The "Civic Alliance" is an umbrella for several organisations of the civilian society: "15 November—Brasov" Association, "University Solidarity," "Timisoara Society," "The Group for Social Dialogue," "Agora—Iasi" Society, the "Independent Group for Democracy", the "Pro-Democracy Association."

Stressing that "the Romanian economy cannot be reformed otherwise than in close connection with the full democratisation of the political and the social life," the signatories to the "statement of principles" point out among other things that "energetic wide-ranging action is needed to protect the citizen."

The "Civic Alliance," the document goes on, supports the right of every citizen to have access to the sources of information, "unreservedly defends the European values that we belong to through origins, mentality and traditions," "militates for the farmers' land ownership," and "are against all forms of violence, including the threat to use it."

Staunch Communists Try To Revive PCR

AU0611204490 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 2 Nov 90 p 1

[George Voicu article: "Romanian Communist Party Redivivus!"]

[Text] Under a new name, some inveterate pro-Russians like Constantin Parvulescu, Gheorghe Apostol, Cornel Burtica, Ioan Avram, General Burca, and I. Bozdoc want to refound the former Romanian Communist Party [PCR], trying to also incorporate some small parties, which ran in the elections.

They are hoping that this party will win followers among the ranks of the workers who are dissatisfied with the current reform measures taken by the ruling party.

Will anyone adhere to this new party headed by a team of pro-Soviet fossils who can only promise us a new golden era?

C. Parvulescu is an honorary mascot; Gheorghe Apostol is a man living in the past with the ambition of contesting the presidency with the neo-Stalinist cadet Cornel Burtica; Ioan Avram, the graduate from Kiev, meekly indulges only in the dream about the prime minister's position. No less and no more....

Along with the neoconspirators on Belgrade Street who are retroactively founding the Anti-Ceausescu Resistance Front and conjure up General Gama's ghost with his retired military men (that is pensioners in disgrace...) these genuine neo-communists seem to be the last daydreamers.

Craiova Meeting Against Government, Communism

AU0611215090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2215 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/11/1990—The Sigma Alliance comprising 37 trade union organisations in Craiova with over 60,000 workers organised on Tuesday a meeting attended by about 4,000 demonstrators who expressed their protest for the grave social problems confronting all social structures nowadays. The speakers expressed the stand of the members of those trade union organisations on the measures for price liberalisation announced by the government, demanding that they should have been correlated with complex social security actions.

At the conclusion of the meeting a part of those present went to the prefecture and townhall squares, in the Craiova streets, demanding the Dolj County prefect's resignation. The protesters chanted slogans against communism, against the government and Romania's president. At 2000 several tens of citizens—the great majority of whom were youths—were in the Craiova streets and the traffic was blocked.

University Square Traffic Blocked for 6th Day

AU0611203790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2107 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/11/1990—On Tuesday several hundred persons were in the central area of Bucharest discussing about the recent measure adopted by the government concerning prices liberalization. At nightfall, about 1800 hrs, the traffic in the University Square was blocked. This is the sixth day when traffic is blocked by persons who do not claim that they belong to any political formation. Although present in that area, the order-keeping forces have not intervened.

New Prices Endanger Press, Affect Readers' Purse

AU0711082490 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Nov 90 p 1

[L. Timofte note: "The Press Is in Danger!"]

[Text] In accordance with incomplete information, the production cost of publications will be seriously affected by the new printing prices and tariffs. This will lead to increased purchase prices, thereby lightening the reader's purse. Thus the price for newspaper paper—the most in use—will double, while printing expenses will increase by 50 percent. If a tonne of paper is exported for some

$500 at an official exchange rate of 35 lei to the dollar, this means 17,500 lei per tonne. Local consumers have to pay 32,450 lei per tonne, which is twice as much as the average prices in foreign markets. These new paper and printing prices have been introduced no later than three months after such price increases.

A natural consequenceis the disappearance of some publications and increased purchase prices.

Defendant Gadea Rejects Charges at Trial

AU0611211090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2133 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/11/1990—Rejecting the charges brought against her the defendant stated in the court referring to the 22 December 1989 meeting of the Executive Political Committee, the only one she attended: In consideration of the circumstances in which that meeting was held, an explicit opposition was if not impossible at least highly risky, able to endanger the life of any opponent. Given the atmosphere that prevailed during the meeting, following Ceausescu's accusation that there were other traitors among the Executive Political Committee members beside Milea, the pledge taken by some of the participants who had been asked expressly whether they pledged to fight, I consider it purely formal and a self-defence action of those asked who could have been otherwise considered traitors.

A number of requests made by the defence and defendants were solved during the Tuesday session. The court canceled for ten days the measure regarding the investigative arrest of defendant Ioan Totu who is to move following the carrying into effect of the eviction ruling of the capital mayorship.

Also approved was the release of a savings book for over 43,000 lei in favour of the wife of defendant Ion Stoian.

The session was adjourned for Thursday, 8 November, 1990, at 9 o'clock, when defendants Constantin Dascalescu and Gheorghe Radulescu are to be heard.

Alternative Privatization Plan Criticized

AU0611143090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1306 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/11/1990—The privatisation scheme worked out by Dr. Constantin Cojocaru known as "The Cojocaru Plan" is being quoted more and more after the government gave green light to privatisation last week. The scheme, which has won the support of part of the unions, was termed by the prime minister and his aides in a telecast dialogue with the nation as "adventuresome" and as "ushering Stalinism into economy by the back stairs." In brief, the Cojocaru scheme, brought to public attention in February this year, envisages the abolition of state and cooperative common property and the transition to private property by distributing wealth to all the citizens of this country who built up this national wealth over the past 45 years. The author wrote a book on the same subject, titled "Privatisation. Why? How? For whom?" Published by the "Alpha" Trade Union Confederation.

A commentary in the daily "DIMINEATA" finds "striking" Dr. Cojocaru's idea that it is only through privatisation and immediate wealth distribution that we could promote market economy in Romania. The author maintains that, without privatisation, market economy mechanisms, the only factors generating wealth and prosperity, cannot operate, but, at the same time, the government itself sees privatisation as "an essential coordinate of the transition to a market economy." Moreover, Premier Roman stressed that "no matter how much we tried to step up this process, its success depends not only on the people's will, but on the capital availabilities in economy."

The newspaper reviews other opinions at loggerheads with Dr. Cojocaru's theory, such as the one of the French Minister Lionel Stoleru, who maintains that the "privatisation of so many complex plants requires time" as well as the theory of the Romanian-born American economist Dr. Anghel Rugina who claims that "it is the transition period that will decide which part of the national wealth will stay in public property and which can be converted to private property."

Macedonian Communists, Reformists Main Rivals

AU0711102190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 90 p 3

[N. Batkoski report: "Rivalry Among Reformists"]

[Text] Skopje—Sporadic debates conducted between the leaders of various Macedonian parties before the beginning of the election campaign in Macedonia are becoming increasingly frequent giving the impression that the preelection fever is gaining in intensity. At the last roundtable talks organized by Skopje Television—which is devoting one hour of its regular program to the leaders of political parties in Macedonia to present their programs—there were retorts and open mutual attacks.

The sharpest debate conducted in front of the television audience was between the representatives of the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] and the Party for Democratic Prosperity, following the statement by the representatives of the VMRO that if they won the elections they would introduce a special Macedonian passports for the Macedonian citizens who are loyal to Macedonia. The leader of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, which mainly rallies ethnic Albanians, observed that this was not democratic while the representatives of other parties said that this sounded as a substitute for the communists' moral-political suitability.

Disagreements between parties moved from the media onto posters. The poster of the Alliance of Reform Forces featuring Ante Markovic caused a controversial reaction, since, as many people pointed out, the entire center of Skopje was practically "occupied" by the photographs of Ante Markovic. Some people even thought that his picture was displayed too much, and that the commercial on Skopje Television, in which Ante Markovic addresses the citizens of Macedonia and invites them in Macedonian to join the Alliance of Reform Forces, was inappropriate considering that the party, which is lead by a famous Macedonian economist and politician, Stojan Andov, is criticized for not sufficiently presenting itself as a Macedonian party.

The fact that a number of advertising posters of the Alliance of Reform Forces were torn and plastered over with the posters of the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation, stating "Macedonia Can Do It," is seen by some people as a sign of new frictions between the Alliance of Reform Forces and the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation, which were at one time thought to be thinking of a coalition and nominating a joint candidate for the president of the republic. Public opinion polls being conducted show that out of those parties that consider themselves reformist, these two parties are in fact favorites to win the elections, which means great rivals. This is also evident from the transfer of candidates for deputies from one party to another prior to the submission of the elections lists.

Despite the fact that he is not directly involved in any party and that so far he has not appeared at any preelection conventions, Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, according to NOVA MAKEDONIJA's poll, is still the most popular politician. Some people think that he will be nominated for the president of the republic in the last minute. On the other hand, some people take the view that it would not be good if he was nominated for this post because he would have to leave the SFRY Presidency before the end of his term of office, something that would contribute to the further erosion of the SFRY Presidency's reputation.

Vuk Draskovic's appearance at the last rally of the Serbian Renewal Movement in Macedonia caused much bitterness. The MAAK, the all-Macedonian Action Movement, issued a statement to the citizens of Macedonia in which is says that the "Serbian sword" is again being brandished over Macedonia and that setting up a government of national salvation of Macedonia and a victory of the Macedonian national front are necessary. "If this is not done, and if state parties win the elections, then Serbian hegemony will be ready to wage the so-called holy war for the annexation of Macedonia under the pretext of a struggle against the last bastion of communism in Europe, with the help of Europe, something that would be fatal for Macedonia," the MAAK states in its communique.

Macedonian Communists Lead in Preelection Poll

LD0611231390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2113 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—When voters in Macedonia go to the polls on Sunday, November 11, it will be for an unprecedented event—the first multiparty elections in the southernmost Yugoslav republic.

Macedonia, for centuries a Turkish province, was divided between Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia after the Balkan wars of 1912-13. Its population was recognized as a nation with the right to a republic of its own only in Yugoslavia, after World War Two.

The Macedonian elections will mark the continuation of a process of Yugoslavia's transition from the 45-year-old one-party communist rule to political pluralism, initiated by last spring's [words indistinct] in Slovenia and Croatia. Multiparty elections are also scheduled in the central Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for November 18, and in the biggest republic, Serbia, and the smallest, Montenegro, for December 9.

In the first round of the elections in Macedonia, the least developed of the six Yugoslav federal units, the electorate will vote for 120 deputies of the unicameral legislative assembly, president and vice-president of the republic. The electorate, comprising 1,276,000 registered voters, will be deciding among 1,146 candidates of 16 parties and 39 independent candidates.

Under the majority system, only the candidates who receive more than half the number of votes cast will be elected to the Narodno Sobranie (People's Assembly). In the electoral districts where no candidates were elected in the first round, those who won at least 7 per cent of the votes cast will be able to run in the second, scheduled for November 25.

A total of 16 parties, organizations and alliances have been registered in Macedonia. An opinion poll has shown the predominant among them to be the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation (LCM-PDT) [SKM-SDP], the Alliance of Reformist Forces in Macedonia (ARFM), the Democratic Prosperity Party (DPP), the Movement for All-Macedonian Action (MAAK) and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VRMO-DPMNE).

The poll, conducted over telephone—which must not necessarily give a true picture of the situation in an underdeveloped environment—shows the LCM-PDT in the lead and favoured by 28.73 per cent of the interviewed, the ARFM initiated by Federal Prime Minister Eng. Ante Markovic second (18 per cent), and the DPP which rallies mostly ethnic Albanians third (12 per cent), while the MAAK and the VMRO-DPMNE, the two parties with more or less nationalistic leanings, each received between 5 and 3 per cent of the votes.

The LCM-PDT has not lost many members, compared to the other parts of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which is fading away. In promoting its new social-democratic commitment, the party offers to the electorate all three options on the status of Macedonia, considering the confederal and the federal to be the most realistic, and that on an independent state the costliest and the most vulnerable. Its economic programme provides for a selective inflow of foreign capital.

The DPP, which was formed in Tetovo, a west Macedonian town densely populated with ethnic Albanians, calls for the republic's confederal status within Yugoslavia. It also has a distinctly liberal economic programme.

The MAAK urges cultural unity of all Macedonians while its breakaway, more radical wing, the VMRO-DPMNE, wants their territorial unity. In a milder version, they call for Macedonian diplomats in neighbouring countries, while in the more radical one, they want them in all countries together with an independent army.

Three Macedonian Parties Present Programs

LD0711033990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0108 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Skoplje, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—The quickest way for Macedonia to resolve its present social and economic difficulties is within Yugoslavia, the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia said at the presentation of its program in the republican capital Skoplje this evening.

With the election campaign in this Yugoslav republic entering its final stages (the elections are scheduled for November 11), the Socialist Party of Macedonia and the Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia also presented their programs and candidates for deputies to the republican parliament this evening.

The Party of Yugoslavs in its election program gives priority to Yugoslavia, without an alternative.

The Socialist Party in its program urges a federal Yugoslavia, although it does not exclude talks about other options.

Bosnian Assembly Suggests Yugoslav State Charter

LD0611185190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—The parliament of Yugoslavia's Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today proposed the adoption of a "charter on the Yugoslav state community".

This supra-constitutional document should [word indistinct] the country's integrity and the functioning of federal laws until a final solution is found for a future organization of Yugoslavia, the parliament said in a letter to the federal parliament.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament also said that the Republic "has opted for Yugoslavia as a democratic state of free and equal citizens, sovereign republics and their peoples. The letter emphasized that the existing state borders of Yugoslavia and the borders between its six constituent republics should remain as they are.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament said it would not accept a future Yugoslavia as a unitarist or assymmetrical state, where some republics would have a confederal status and others a federal one. Any insistence on this would prompt Bosnia-Hercegovina to organize itelf as an independent and sovereign state, the letter stressed.

The only way out of the current crisis and towards a constitutional reconstruction of Yugoslavia is a democratic dialogue, with full respect of the federal units' interests, the parliament said. It is on this basis and as an equal participant in the dialogue that Bosnia-Hercegovina is prepared to transfer some of its sovereign rights to a "common democratic state community".

The Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament says that the present federal Constitution must be respected until a new one is adopted, that regulations [word indistinct] the federal Constitution must be suspended and that the practice of enacting new non-constitutional acts must be ended.

Poll on Election Prefences in Bosnia Published

AU0611205690

[Editorial Report] Zagreb START MAGAZIN in Serbo-Croatian on 27 October on pages 35-38 carries an approximately 3,000-word report on the results of a public opinion poll on upcoming elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina conducted by VJESNIK and START between 17 and 19 October.

The VJESNIK and START research team conducted a telephone poll and interviewed 585 "adult inhabitants of Bosnia-Hercegovina." As regards the method of selecting respondents, this is "a stratified systematic sample which includes telephone numbers from more than 200 places" in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The selection of the respondents from among those who answered the telephone was determined by the Troldahl-Carter method."

The questionnaire for Bosnia-Hercegovina includes 12 questions concerning the upcoming elections and eight questions concerning the social-demographic characteristics of the respondents. "The results of the poll show that out of those polled 31.7 percent live in towns 68.3 in rural areas." Of the respondents 49.3 percent, are female and 50.7 male.

As regards nationality, 33.3 percent are Muslims, 29.5 percent are Serbs, 20,8 percent are Croats, 13.3 percent are Yugoslavs, 2.7 percent are of other nationality, and 0.3 refused to declare their nationality.

According to the report, 85.3 percent of the respondents are not members of any party, 7.5 percent are members of the League of Communists-Social Democratic Party, 2.2 percent are members of the Alliance of Reform Forces, 1.8 percent are members of the Croatian Democratic Community, 1.5 percent are members of the Serbian Democratic Party, and 1.3 percent are the members of the Party for Democratic Action.

Of those polled 65.5 percent said that they will certainly take part in elections, 17.5 percent that they will very probably take part in them, and 9.5 said they did not know.

The results of the poll are presented in two tables as follows:

Table 1. "According to what you know and you have heard and seen around you, which party will in your opinion receive most votes at the upcoming elections?"

[figures in percentages]

	Whole Sample	Muslims	Serbs	Croats
Party of Democratic Action	18.8	27	10.7	24.8
Muslim Bosniak Organization	0.7	0.5	0	2.4
Alliance of Reform Forces	16.3	15	10.7	17.6
Croatian Democratic Community	4	1	0.6	16
LC-SDP [League of Communists-Social Democratic Party]	19.8	21	23.2	8.8
Serbian Democratic Party	4	0	13	0.8
Serbian Renewal Movement	0	0	0	0
UJDI [Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative]	0	0	0	0
Yugoslav Labor Movement	0	0	0	0
Some national party	0.2	0.5	0	0
Some dangerous party	0	0	0	0
Yugoslav Peasant Party	0	0	0	0
A Yugoslav-oriented party	0.2	0.5	0	0
SSODS [League of Socialist Youth-Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina]	0.2	0.5	0	0
DSS [Democratic Socialist Alliance]	0.5	0.5	0.6	0
Republican Party	0.2	0.5	0	0
Social Democrats	0	0	0	0
Party of Yugoslavs	0.7	0.5	0.6	0
Party of Mixed Marriages	0.3	0	0	0.8
People's Party of Bosnia	0	0	0	0
Democratic Alliance of Tuzla	0.2	0	0	0
The Greens	0	0	0	0
Workers Democratic Party	0	0	0	0
Party of Private Initiative	0	0	0	0
None	0	0	0	0
Do not know; no answer	34	32.5	40.7	28.8

Table 2. "Which party, or parties, do you personally find the most acceptable?"

[figures in approximate percentages]

	Whole Sample	Muslims	Serbs	Croats
Party of Democratic Action	5-10	20-25	0-5	5
Muslim Bosniak Organization	0-5	0-5	0	0
Alliance of Reform Forces	25-30	25-30	20-25	25-30
Croatian Democratic Community	5-10	0-5	0	35-40
LC-SDP [League of Communists-Social Democratic Party]	25-30	20-25	30-35	10-15
Serbian Democratic Party	5-10	0	15-20	0-5
Serbian Renewal Movement	0	0	0	0
UJDI [Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative]	0	0	0	0
Yugoslav Labor Movement	0	0	0	0
A national party	0	0	0	0
A dangerous party	0	0	0	0
Yugoslav Peasant Party	0	0	0	0
A Yugoslav-oriented party	0	0	0	0
SSODS [League of Socialist Youth-Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina]	0-5	5	0-5	0
DSS [Democratic Socialist Alliance]	0-5	0-5	0-5	0-5

Republican Party	0	0-5	0	0
Social Democrats	0	0	0	0
Party of Yugoslavs	0-5	0-5	0-5	0-5
Party of Mixed Marriages	0	0	0	0-5
People's Party of Bosnia	0	0	0	0
Democratic Alliance of Tuzla	0	0	0	0
The Greens	0	0	0	0
Workers Democratic Party	0	0	0	0
Party of Private Initiative	0	0	0	0
No answer	20	15-20	20-25	15-20

Table 3. "Which party, or parties, do you personally find the most unacceptable?"

[figures in approximate percentages]

	Whole Sample	Muslims	Serbs	Croats
Party of Democratic Action	10-15	10-15	15-20	5-10
Muslim Bosniak Organization	0-5	0-5	0-5	0
Alliance of Reform Forces	0-5	0-5	0-5	0-5
Croatian Democratic Community	15-20	10	20-25	5-10
LC-SDP [League of Communists-Social Democratic Party]	5-10	5-10	0-5	10-15
Serbian Democratic Party	10-15	10-15	10-15	20-25
Serbian Renewal Movement	0-5	0-5	0-5	0-5
UJDI [Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative]	0	0	0	0
Yugoslav Labor Movement	0	0	0	0
All national parties	20	20	15-20	10-15
All dangerous parties	0	0	0	0-5
Yugoslav Peasant Party	0	0	0	0
A Yugoslav-oriented party	0	0	0	0
SSODS [League of Socialist Youth-Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina]	0	0	0	0
DSS [Democratic Socialist Alliance]	0	0	0	0
Republican Party	0	0	0	0
Social Democrats	0	0	0	0
Party of Yugoslavs	0	0	0	0-5
Party of Mixed Marriages	0	0	0	0
People's Party of Bosnia	0	0	0	0
Democratic Alliance of Tuzla	0	0	0	0
The Greens	0	0	0	0
Workers Democratic Party	0	0	0	0
Party of Private Initiative	0	0	0	0
No answer	35-40	35-40	35-40	40

'Revival' of Opposition in Kosovo Expected

AU0611211290 Skopje VLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 4 Nov 90 pp 4-5

[Blerim Reka report: "Political Awakening of the Opposition Expected"]

[Text] Pristina, 3 Nov—Next week will probably witness a revival of political activity in the Kosovo opposition, which has for some time, whether for objective or subjective reasons, been asleep. Tomorrow, Sunday [4 November], the Albanian Christian Democratic Party will hold its founding assembly in Djakovica. Its leaders returned a few days ago from Zagreb, where they took part in the congress of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party and were also received by Cardinal Franjo Kuhanic. It is expected that this assembly will approve the program and statutes of this party and will elect its leadership.

The Kosovo Democratic Alliance Assembly [DSK] Will Decide Whether To Enter the Elections

At its regular Friday news conference, the DSK announced that it has now completed its preelectoral activity throughout the communes, which involved 1,200 local branch candidates for the DSK Electoral Assembly, to be held on 10 November in Pristina. As DSK Secretary Jusuf Buxhovi told journalists, all the preparations for this assembly have been completed, and it only remains to inform the competent authorities of the meeting. Continuing the news conference, DSK Presidium Member Prof. Dr. Fehmi Agani put forward his observations on current political issues, including Slobodan Milosevic's recent speech at Bor and the problems at the university and in education after salaries have been withheld from Albanian teachers and swollen wage packets have been given to their Serbian and Montenegrin colleagues, which represents, as he said, nothing less than the Serbian authorities' diversion of funds from the Kosovo social sector and the private economy. In connection with the Serbian president's speech at Bor, especially that part of it summarizing achievements in Serbia since the eighth Serbian League of Communists Central Committee plenum, Agani said that Milosevic forgot to mention among these achievements that these policies have brought Yugoslavia to the brink of destruction; as for the situation in Kosovo, which in Milosevic's view is on the road to democracy and the rule of social justice, Agani said that the president of Serbia forgot the fact that in a part of his republic these policies have in recent months involved the dismissal of about 40,000 Albanians from work, which has nothing to do with democracy and social justice.

The DSK's representatives once again repeated their familiar demands for the earliest possible restoration of the Kosovo Assembly and its Executive Council, Pristina Radio and Television, and RILINDJA and demanded the reinstatement of all dismissed and suspended workers. At the same time, they appealed to citizens to refrain from all kinds of violence and to reject all kinds of provocation, for their own good and that of all

Kosovo. Dr. Fehmi Agani replied to many questions, mainly about the DSK's electoral activity, by saying that the DSK will take part only in legal elections, and not in secret ones held for the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, because these would have no validity. At the moment, he said, we have not entered into any kind of coalition with other parties, and the final decision on whether we will take part in the elections, and which elections, will be made by the delegates to the party's electoral assembly on 10 November.

RILINDJA Cannot Accept the Serbian Assembly as its Founder

Another news conference was held yesterday. The legal management of the RILINDJA enterprise informed journalists about the stands taken by this newspaper and publishing house over the most recent decision of the Serbian Executive Council, according to which there is at present little chance of the newspaper's reissue. As General Director Dr. Ali Jakupi and Deputy Chief Editor Xhemajl Rexhepi said, this decision of the Serbian government has amazed not only them but the entire RILINDJA collective, especially with its baseless and unsupported statements which have sent the problem back to where it started when the newspaper was banned on 8 August. They told journalists that they had talked with representatives of Serbia twice since the newspaper was banned, but these talks bore no fruit because the RILINDJA representatives could not in any way agree to one of the conditions or obstacles, which was that the Serbian Assembly should become the newspaper's founder, or to a second condition that Dr. Gani Jashari should become the newspaper's director. As they said, the second condition cannot be admitted for purely formal and legal reasons, because the newspaper's statutes do not recognize such a post. Xhemajl Rexhepi went on to say that we do not claim that the newspaper committed no mistakes or had no faults, but we can in no way concur that the newspaper acted from separatist or hostile positions or called for the destruction of Serbia. On the contrary, our articles were always dominated by a realistic approach and a democratic way of considering all political issues in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. We intend to continue in the same way in the future, not taking the side of any political concept, because one of our conditions is that RILINDJA should become an independent paper above all parties, and thus neutral from the party point of view.

Meanwhile, Dr. Ali Jakupi presented many figures about the large financial losses incurred since the newspaper's closure, which amount to approximately 14 million convertible dinars per month, and about the layoff of 350-400 workers who were directly engaged in the newspaper's publication. He also denied what has been said about Serbia's financing of the paper, because, he said, all RILINDJA's subsidies were stopped on 1 July, and until then it received a subsidy only from the budget of Kosovo. We are thus not only the sole newspaper in Yugoslavia to have been banned, but the sole newspaper in the country without a dinar in subsidies. Let us not even mention the political damage caused by the information vacuum in Albanian resulting from the disappearance of the only Albanian-language daily.

Foreign Business Partners Also Turn Their Backs on the Enforced Measures

However, it seems that not only RILINDJA but the entire destiny of Kosovo remains, at least for a time, in the hands of the Serbian state, even in spite of the clear conditions expressed this week by governmental and diplomatic circles in Europe (the delegation of the German Bundestag, Italian diplomatic circles, CSFR President Vaclav Havel, the British Medical Association, etc.), according to which Yugoslavia has no chance of entering Europe without solving the problem of Kosovo through democracy and with a respect for world standards of human rights and freedoms.

The truth is that some while ago the first reactions were apparent among Serbs and Montenegrins themselves working in the collectives under the Serbian Assembly's imposed measures. These have recently become more frequent. After large fluctuations in the Serbian and Montenegrin professional cadres in the Shock Absorber Factory, the resignation of the chairman of the imposed management of Vineks in Vitina, Slavko Dajic (because of the impossibility of finding Serbian and Montenegrin workers following the ethnic purge involving the dismissal of 300 Albanians), there have been such flashes of discontent even in some collectives and areas which are purely Serbian and Montenegrin in ethnic structure. For instance, the economy of Leposavic, an area almost entirely inhabited by Serbs and Montenegrins, is in increasingly deep decline. The targets set for the first six months of this year were not even approximately realized, while the four collectives which employ 65 percent of those employed in the commune have incurred a loss of 8,660,000 convertible dinars. In only one of these collectives, the Kopaonik Flotation Mine, besides production figures showing a three percent fall in production in comparison with same period last year and 10-percent below what was planned for this year, less ore was mined—only 12,280 tonnes! Meanwhile, the Italian firm Fiat has repudiated its contract with the Zastava-Ramiz Sadiku spare parts plant in Pec, which operates as part of the Crvena Zastava group, because of poor quality and inadequate work. Since the withdrawal of German and Italian partners from business cooperation with the Shock Absorber Factory, a whole production program of Zastava cars in Kragujevac has been put in doubt by the performance of its Kosovo partners. Economic losses and failures have also been recorded in Titova Mitrovica: Nine collectives employing 6,948 workers incurred losses of 210 million dinars, and only 67 percent of the planned physical volume of production was achieved, while the total earnings of the economy of this commune, at 1.1 billion dinars, are less than its expenditure of 1.9 billion dinars! One is not therefore surprised at the recent announcement of the Serbian Electricity Distribution Network that Trepca's electricity will be cut off, for such a step will cover up all the sins and failures of the enforced management in this Kosovo titan and in the whole Kosovo economy since its occupation.

When one bears in mind the lack of economic and political prospects caused by Serbia's mistaken policies toward Kosovo, it is not surprising that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, far from stopping, has recently been increasing. It is significant that official Serbian politicians and their special emissaries in Kosovo have not mentioned in public the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins for a long time, even though this process has not stopped, and has even accelerated. For example, in the commune of Istok alone, their emigration continues unabated. In recent months alone, four families and 76 individuals have emigrated, while 87 persons have announced their intention to emigrate. Perhaps these facts, alongside the internecine quarrels about Kosovo in the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] along the lines of indigenous inhabitants versus colonists, have been the cause of a widening rift in the party's ranks and massive desertions on the part of its membership. As has been reported unofficially, a section of the membership has been radicalized by this inability to halt the continued emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and the fact that only one of the 15 members of the SPS's Main Council for Kosovo are natives of Kosovo, while the others come from Hercegovina and Montenegro, and this has even led to demands for the resignation of the current leadership. When one considers what was seen on the screen during the roundtable on political pluralism shown on Pristina Television's Serbo-Croatian program, when the members of the Serbian Renewal Movement led by Komnenic, in the presence of Jagos Zelenovic, the leader of the SPS's Council for Kosovo, did not leave unsaid the nastiest and most offensive things about the SPS and its chairman Slobodan Milosevic, it is clear that the SPS has difficult times ahead in Kosovo and will perhaps even lose the Serbian elections.

There is nothing new in Kosovo education. It is reported that classes are proceeding without major problems in elementary and secondary schools and at the university, except in medicine, where there are difficulties in covering the classes of teachers who have been dismissed; the students' center is also quiet.

Meanwhile, there are two items of news from the organs of justice. The republican secretary of jurisprudence and the chairman of the Serbian Supreme Court visited the Kosovo Supreme Court recently, and it has been reported that they talked with representatives of the highest judicial body in Kosovo about the status of this court. Meanwhile, Pristina District Court sentenced three Albanians from Podujevo, Latif Abdullahu (to six years' imprisonment), Beqir Abdullahu, and Nazmi Gashi (each to two years' imprisonment), because of their assault on Veljko Cuberinic and Zoran Trajkovic in Podujevo on 22 March. The three accused had suspected the latter two of having a hand in the poisoning of Albanian schoolchildren in Podujevo in the spring of this year.

DELO Calls For Differing Response to Serb Laws

AU0711131690 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Oct 90 p 1

[Joze Petrovcic "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Overtaken in Statehood"]

[Text] If they hit you, do not turn the other cheek—this is the rule that, despite everything, applies to the economy. If translated into Yugoslav political language, it would read: Do not wait, hit back, show your resolution. Therefore, if Serbs stage a new trade war, come to grips with them.

Yes, such is the political decision advocated in Slovenia by the "hawks." "Doves" speak of a patience which can devour the devil, however big he may be; so too will it do so in the case of Serbian measures. Almost all Slovene political thoughts concerning behavior about the Serbian economic measures can be placed between these two extremes.

The statements—that by introducing these customs and taxation measures, Serbia has overtaken us in establishing statehood and that Serbia will therefore become an independent state before Slovenia—sound very crude. Seen from the economic point of view, the state which introduces such measures in order to achieve independence cannot be particularly worthy, but, a state in which demands are voiced that measures equal to those of the Serbian side should be urgently launched cannot be a model of a modern state either, but rather a considerably worn-out ideological pattern.

A state which wants to be up to trade wars such as this one imposed on us with a clear intention, must secure its sovereignty differently. Since it wants to be an independent unit, it should be already prepared for such measures and to reply with countermeasures. However, it cannot take these countermeasures from the same arsenal as the Serbians, but, let us say, from a European and global arsenal. It must mitigate the economic damage and transfer it as soon as possible to the side that caused it and, above all, seek new ways, that is, new markets which the Slovene economy certainly needs because Yugoslavia is a modest market. However, one still cannot hear much about such a modern economic policy from the Slovene Government.

Slovene Democratic Renewal Presidency Convenes

LD0711034290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0113 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—The situation in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia is now much worse than before the elections, mostly owing to the ruling Demos [United Opposition] coalition, it was stated at the constitutive session of the Presidency of the Democratic Renewal Party (former League of Communists of Slovenia) today.

Demos and the Slovenian Government were accused of limiting scope for democracy, hampering initiative and the prosperity of Slovenia [word indistinct].

An inactive policy today [word indistinct] pre-election promises.

Demos won the first post-war multi-party elections in Slovenia last April, while the League of Communists became an opposition party.

The participants in today's session agreed on the necessity of closer cooperation with other parties in the republic and with all left-wing democratic parties.

The Presidency of the Democratic Renewal Party charged a group of experts who have already prepared a study of confederate Slovenia for the former League of Communists of Slovenia with supplementing the document and preparing the party for all possible options for regulating the future relations within Yugoslavia.

Markovic Visits Federal Defense Secretariat

LD0611191690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Executive Committee Ante Markovic today visited the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. His talks with Federal Secretary for National Defense Army General Veljko Kadijevic and his entourage focused on current questions of the armed forces' development, and recognition of the SFRY Constitution and federal laws in the defense sphere and the military industry complex.

In the course of his visit they also examined problems in the sphere of financing the Yugoslav People's Army, together with measures and moves which should be taken to ensure safety and stability of financing some current and developing Army needs.

Jovic Greets Gorbachev on Revolution Anniversary

AU0611154090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] On the occasion of the 73th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent greetings to the Soviet leader, Mihail Gorbachev.

In the message, President Jovic expresses the conviction that friendly relations will develop successfully, along with mutually useful cooperation in the spirit of mutual trust and understanding and to the advantage of peace and general progress in the world.

Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, also sent a message to Nikolay Ryzhkov, president of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the October Socialist Revolution.